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LEARNING FROM CHANGING: AN APPLICATION
OF OPEN SYSTEMS THEORY TO ORGANIZATIONAL
DIAGNOSIS AND CHANGE

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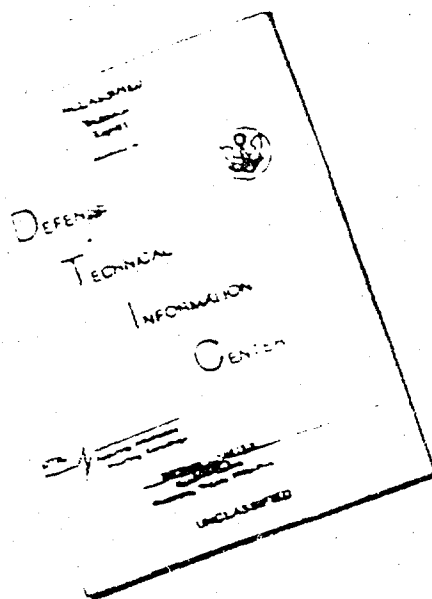
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LEARNING FROM CHANGING:

**An Application of Open Systems Theory
to Organizational Diagnosis and Change**

by

Clayton P. Alderfer

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and

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20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) <p>This study reports on a four year organizational diagnosis and change program. Initially a review of previous full system organizational development projects is presented, and the potential contributions of this project are outlined. The present organization, the researcher-consultants, and the beginnings of the project are discussed in detail to provide a clear understanding of the inception of the project. A theory of organizational research methods with application to both basic research and diagnosis</p>														

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is presented, and three methodological studies employing the theory are presented. Three diagnostic chapters reveal the investigators initial clinical impressions, the effects of the system on individuals, and the effects of the system on a key group. A theory of consultation is then delineated, and examples from this entire study are delineated to make its meaning operational. Survey feedback was employed as a link between diagnosis and action, and the impact of this intervention was evaluated. An analysis of contract setting for this study is presented. Developmental interventions are described which include the establishment of internal change agents, the alteration of socialisation practices, and the change of governance procedures in the institution. Releasing interventions include administrative consultation, the facilitation of female members entering the system, and the management of external relationships with respect to the project. Evaluation of the project proceeded in two streams: (1) an assessment committee from the organization reviewed the consultation activities and prepared a report for the system; and (2) a repeated and brief questionnaire compared the state of the system after intervention with that during diagnosis. The final chapter assesses the broad contributions and limitations of the study.

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Sponsorship is one kind of help that senior members of a profession may give younger colleagues. Chris Argyris sponsored our work with the Gaight School at its inception. He also provided valuable consultation to us during the initial phases of the diagnosis.

The initial workshop with the Gaight School was staffed by Fritz Steele, Tim Hall, Jane Covey, Bill Torbert, Dennis Jaffe, and Pat Canavan. We joined this group to conduct an educational experience for Gaight and a neighboring women's school. Thanks to the competent, imaginative, and responsible behavior of this entire staff, the workshop achieved many of its objectives and opened the door for the four year diagnosis and change project described in this book.

Feedback sessions conducted at the end of the diagnostic year were staffed by Roy Lewicki, John Wanous, Bob Duncan, Bob Kaplan, Mike Storms, and ourselves. At the time, some of these people were relatively experienced in applied behavioral science, while others were just beginning in the field. All worked effectively with Gaight people to bring the diagnostic information back to the school.

G. Douglas Jenkins worked two summers to conduct many of the statistical analyses that appear throughout the book. He prepared his own conceptual analysis of the material in Chapter Five, which in turn influenced our own thinking. He also helped in the collection of the archival data that has been used throughout the book. If there had been a third author of the book he would have been the person.

David Berg worked with Douglas Jenkins to develop the free response coding systems that appear in Chapter Five.

Jane Brown served as an interventionist for the coeducation workshop.

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Any project that lasts as long and demands as much as this one infringes on the lives of our families. We were extraordinarily fortunate that our wives, Charleen Alderfer and Jane Brown, not only supported our work, but also provided consultation when we asked for it. Our children Kate Alderfer, Rachel Brown, and Benjamin Alderfer made their own special contribution too, as small children can---by being present and staying away.

The extraordinary contribution of the administration, some faculty, and students of the Gaight School cannot be overstated. Those who gave of their time and energy took chances, made commitments, and worked strenuously to learn. Especially significant were the contributions of the two headmasters, the two internal change agents, the student-faculty liaison

committee, and the faculty assessment committee. Because what we were doing was so new, unpredictable, and controversial, these people risked their standing in their own community to participate and learn. They demonstrated a special kind of courage that we believe is too uncommon today. The spirit of this investment was captured in a letter to the authors from one of the headmasters:

I do want to add, however, that. . . [as] I have gotten a broader look at lots of schools and school systems, both public and private, I wish there was some way to tell the world that what you discovered at Gaight was really no different from what goes on in many, many institutions of all sorts. . . . When you are willing to face some of the things we were willing to face with you. . . it is really a sign of strength and not of weakness.

We were fortunate to participate in such an alliance.

Chapter One

APPLIED BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

In the last two decades there has been increasing interest in the application of behavioral science knowledge to the solution of problems in social systems. The rapid change experienced by industrialized societies has necessitated corresponding changes in many social institutions to adapt to the changed context, and the need to actively plan those changes has become vital. One consequence of the interest in social systems and the processes of change has been the evolution of a new field of behavioral science theory and research, called organizational behavior. An associated applied discipline, called organizational development, has emerged to make pragmatic use of the insights of the academic field. The growing understanding of organizational phenomena has taken ideas and insights from many traditional behavioral science disciplines.

This chapter is intended to introduce the reader to the use of applied behavioral science to facilitate planned organizational change. Section I of the chapter will present a brief overview of the present status of organizational development. Section II will describe several case studies of organizational development for the purposes of illustrating what some previous projects have been like and to establishing a context within which the present study can be understood. Section III will consider more explicitly the relevance of organizational development activities in schools and particularly boarding schools. Finally, section IV will define briefly the relevance of this study to organizational development and organizational behavior, and more generally for behavioral science and the practice of planned change.

I. ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AS PROFESSIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC DISCIPLINE

Organizational development is rooted in a variety of academic disciplines including psychology, anthropology, sociology, engineering, economics, and general systems theory. Organizational development practice is also related to applied fields designed to improve productivity in industrial organizations like industrial engineering, scientific management, group dynamics and human relations training, sensitivity training, and so on. These predecessors tended to focus on a relatively narrow slice of the organization, however, which led to problems in implementing change. Organizational development as an interdisciplinary approach to planned change that deals with many aspects of the organization is increasingly popular. Increasing numbers of practitioners are employed by organizations as internal or external consultants. At least one accrediting agency for practitioners is in operation, and several professional organizations now have organizational development divisions. A number of original books have appeared in the past five years, and several edited volumes have been edited, and a number of reviews of the literature have appeared (Friedlander and Brown, 1974).

The processes of organizational change can be conceptualized as the development of the boundaries of organizational systems and subsystems, and the creation of mutual relationships within and across those boundaries (Alderfer, 1974). Organizational development activities seek to move the organization toward degrees of boundary permeability and relationship mutuality with respect to both internal and external environments that are appropriate to the challenges facing the organization (cf. Lawrence and Lorsch, 1969).

Although the priority of values espoused by organizational development practitioners differs, nearly all of them advocate in some degree increased

fulfillment of the human beings in organizational settings and increased effectiveness of task accomplishment. Some practitioners advocate "humane" values primarily, either on the assumption that they are more important than task effectiveness or on the theory that task effectiveness is contingent on fulfillment; others reverse the priorities with different assumptions about primacy or causality. Very few will argue that one cluster of values should be advanced at the expense of the other, though that may be the effect of some practices.

The technologies of organizational development practitioners tend to fall under two general categories: (1) approaches to people and processes, which focus on the people in the organization and their interactions to accomplish tasks, and (2) approaches to technology and structures, which focus on the technology of the organization and the structures used to channel people and technology to accomplish tasks (Friedlander and Brown, 1974). Eventually, of course, these approaches tend to intersect, since the boundary between process and structure is a blurry one: process -- immediate interaction -- is both facilitated and constrained by organizational structure -- recurrent patterns of behavior -- and it in turn influences that structure. But there are clear differences in the assumptions that consultants make on entry about appropriate starting points: process consultants look at people and the ways they interrelate, and structure consultants look at technologies and other durable arrangements.

The practice of organizational development at this point has far outstripped research and theory about planned change in organizations. We have little in the way of research evaluations of even frequently-used interventions, let alone a comprehensive and empirically-based theory to suggest the contingencies under which various interventions will be most effective.

Part of the reason for this lack is the exceptional difficulties of doing high quality behavioral research in organizational settings: the size, complexity, and reactivity of organizations makes controlled or even quasi-controlled research very difficult, and there is no comprehensive meta-theory yet available to help researcher-consultants integrate research and practice synergistically.

In spite of the problems of research on organizational development activities, however, some has been done, and in the rest of this chapter we shall discuss briefly four case studies of planned organizational change activities as a way of providing background about the application of behavioral science to organizational change. We shall try to summarize the place of this study in relation to those cases in the last section of this chapter.

II. CASE STUDIES OF WHOLE SYSTEM ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The present study deals with an entire, self-contained social system--the Gaigt School. While the literature of applied behavioral science is growing rapidly, especially during the last decade, there are nevertheless few studies which deal with entire systems. More common are reports of projects which deal with parts of systems, rather than with whole organizations (Alderfer, 1973). Prior to, during, and in the process of preparing the present work for publication our thinking was influenced primarily by four such case studies: Elliott Jaques' Changing Culture of a Factory (1952), William F. Whyte and Edith Lentz Hamilton's Action Research for Management (1965), Alfred J. Marrow, David G. Bowers, and Stanley E. Seashore's Management by Participation (1967), and Paul Hill's Towards a New Philosophy of Management (1971). The first three of these studies were

known to us prior to undertaking the Gaight study, while the fourth came to our attention during writing phase of this project.

By choosing to review primarily these four studies we in no way wish to imply that our work was only influenced by these efforts or that this study has implications only for similar kinds of investigations. In fact we were substantially influenced by Argyris' (1965, 1970) work on interpersonal competence and behavioral science intervention, by various writer's treatments of general and open systems theory (Brown, 1971), and by several "basic" researches carried out by sociologists of organizations (Goffman, 1961, Brim and Wheeler, 1966). Furthermore, we believe that the present study has implications for each of these lines of research as well.

The four cases reported here were all "successes" in the sense that there is evidence for constructive changes as a consequence of the consultants' interventions. Two of them are reports of "pioneering" studies of organizational change, "pioneering" in the sense that they were undertaken before organizational development was a common concept and in the sense that the projects themselves have contributed substantially to shaping the field. The other two cases report more recent work in organizational development. Two cases, one early and one more recent, are generally in the technost-
structural tradition of intervention; while the other two cases, one early and one late, are generally in the human-processual stream. Taken together, the four cases also demonstrate the problems of the process-structure distinction, since both processual and structural interventions and effects occurred in all of them.

We will describe the cases in the same format in which we report our own, albeit a good deal more briefly. We will describe the consultants' entry, the diagnostic process, interventions into structure and process,

and evaluations of the impact of the organizational development activities.

Whyte and Hamilton (1964) report, almost twenty years after its inception, a one year "action research" project focused on human relations in a hotel staff. The research team of three -- an academic consultant, a field researcher, and the hotel personnel manager -- worked together for a year, and the personnel manager remained with the "Hotel Tremont" for two more years after the end of the project pursuing some of its implications.

The project began as a result of conversations between the general manager of the Tremont and the academic consultant in 1945. The conversations were initiated by the manager because of interest in the consultant's previous work and culminated in a proposal by the consultant. After the manager agreed to finance a one year project, the research team conferred with the local hotel workers' labor union leadership to insure that they knew about and accepted the project. They were introduced to hotel personnel by management in a series of meetings. But it is clear from their report that these measures were not in themselves enough to provide the kind of entry the researchers needed; they found that they had to deal with preconceptions about the role of personnel manager that made it difficult for the individual in that role to find out about human relations in the hotel, and it was only after they had been working in the hotel for some time that they sufficiently established their reputation for trustworthiness to have access to the information they needed.

The researcher-consultants held several assumptions that influenced their data collection activities: (1) they were more concerned with explanation than with assigning blame for events, (2) they focused on the role of the group in influencing events rather than the role of individuals, and (3) they perceived events as the result of mutual dependence and interaction rather than as consequences of linear cause-and-effect. Actual data

collection involved study of personnel records about absenteeism, turnover, performance, and the like; observation of the hotel staff at work; and interviewing staff members at different levels and from different departments about their work experience and attitudes. As organization members came to trust the researcher-consultants, they offered more varied and more sensitive information about their experience and the hotel, allowing diagnosis of more difficult problems.

The researcher-consultants chose their targets for intervention around functional work units. In all, five such groups received their attention during the year of sustained intervention: (1) the coffee shop, (2) the housekeeping department, (3) the cashiers and checkers, (4) the front office of the hotel, and (5) the major restaurant-night club. In each section of the organization their methodology was similar, and in every project they attended to and worked at several different levels of analysis. One reason why their work had to wait nearly twenty years before publication was that they gave rather meticulous attention to many individuals who occupied positions of leadership in the hotel. While their accounts of individuals had little clinical flavor (no psychoanalytic or other personality labels were used or implied except for the word authoritarian), a reader of their account nevertheless obtained a detailed picture of various individuals' styles for dealing with their organizational dilemmas. In reviewing their own difficulties as researcher-consultants, Whyte and Hamilton credited a substantial portion to their own and various of the managers' problems to individual personalities. Group relations were of central importance in their diagnostic work. In feeding back the results of their data collection, the researchers made frequent use of group meetings. In advising the various managers on how to improve their effectiveness, the consultants regularly suggested the use of group meetings. The choice to

work with functional work units in the hotel was a decision to intervene primarily with groups. As the diagnosis unfolded the researchers often discovered that important problems were related to intergroup relations as well as to intragroup issues. Sometimes the intergroup issues were associated with problems in the flow of work, as between the checkers and cashiers. Other conflicts were based upon previous work and power associations, as between the "Tremont" crowd and the "Sheridan" clique. In contrast to many other investigators in this field, Whyte and Hamilton seemed quite aware of how status, recognition, and mobility issues were related to their intervention attempts. These consultants also paid particular attention to how structural arrangements in the workflow might be altered to improve the effectiveness and satisfaction of the hotel employees. In one setting, for example, their work was instrumental in obtaining the installation of a water faucet which greatly aided both the work effectiveness and morale of waitresses.

The researcher-consultants did not enter the project with a highly developed theory and technology for intervention and planned change. On the contrary, they possessed "great faith in group meetings" (Whyte and Hamilton, 1964:12) and "great faith -- too much faith, as later events disclosed -- in the power of the interview" (Whyte and Hamilton, 1964:13). They hoped that facilitating communication within and between levels of the hotel hierarchy -- especially upwards -- would lead to constructive changes, if managers were willing to respond to worker suggestions. To that end, the researcher-consultants made presentations, facilitated meetings, refereed confrontations, and helped people work on problems without taking over responsibility for solutions themselves. They hoped that the outcome of their work would be increased organizational capabilities rather than dependence on the researcher-consultants, and so tried to make sure that

organization members managed the changes themselves.

At the end of the year, the project's funding was not renewed, which Whyte and Hamilton concluded was in part a function on their mishandling of the general manager. They also suggest that they were ineffective in working with another high manager during the project. On the other hand, they describe six positive effects of their work: (1) a new role for the personnel manager that involved more effective relations with organization members, (2) improvements in interpersonal relations, (3) improved rates of safety and turnover, (4) improved managerial leadership, (5) improved efficiency and productivity in the eyes of management, (6) transfer of initiative from the academic consultant to the personnel manager. Although the exploratory nature of this research precludes conclusive results, its outcomes are certainly provocative. The study suggests clearly that the research process can be beneficial to both researcher and researched and that information generation and sharing can lead to positive outcomes for the organization as a whole, at least in some circumstances.

Jaques (1952) describes another early study of organizational change begun in 1948 by a team from the Tavistock Institute in England. The report describes the work by Jaques and his twelve colleagues with the Glacier Metal Company, a manufacturing concern in London with a reputation for progressive management.

The project was initiated by Tavistock as part of a government-sponsored study that had at the outset the backing of representatives of national unions and management representatives. As part of the entry process, the research team strove to be as clear as possible about the research proposed to both management and workers, and they declined to begin work until they received formal approval from representatives of both groups in the organization. They invested much time and effort

subsequently to establish the independent role of the research team. Jaques noted that trust in the team increased over time as they preserved their independence in spite of efforts to influence or co-opt them.

The research team began its diagnosis with a general study of Glacier's history and present status, and then on invitation worked with a number of subsystems, of which five are reported in Jaques' (1952) book. The researchers' conceptual base included psychoanalytic theory and field theory, and they made three major assumptions relevant to diagnosis: (1) that problems complained of were likely to be only part of the issue; (2) that no simple causes or solutions would be found; and (3) that as the situation was explored, resistance would be encountered. They used interviews of participants, historical studies, and observation of work to collect information about the organization and the issues it faced. Early in the work they published a list of principles developed jointly with organization representatives which defined the role of the research team as "advisory and interpretive" (Jaques, 1952:14); they encouraged organization members to share only information that was public and relevant to the work.

The Glacier Company was already deeply engaged in change when Jaques appeared on the scene. The Glacier management had been attempting to promote more "democratic" methods of management, or in Jaques' phrase, "to provide democratic sanction for the exercise of executive authority." Jaques and his colleagues encountered an elaborate social structure which had been developed to implement the democratic ideal for the factory. But for various reasons--which became the task of the research team to discover--these structures were not achieving their objectives. The Changing Culture of a Factory reports five basic intervention projects. Four of these deal with the elaborate social structure developed to democratize the Glacier Metals organization. The fifth (chronologically, the first) point of intervention

was a functional department, the Service Unit, which was set off from the rest of the organization

The four democratizing units included: (1) the Works Council, a policy making unit consisting of members from all hierarchical levels of the organization; (2) the Works Committee, a non-management group charged with representing the workers' interests to management; (3) the Superintendents Committee, a group who provided first line managers with an opportunity to act on common interests; and (4) the Divisional Managers Meeting, an organizational unit made up of top management. Each of these groups was interrelated with the others, and all suffered to some degree from malfunctioning group dynamics. In contrast to the Whyte and Hamilton study, it was apparent that the Jaques investigation took place in a social system already ideologically committed to more humane management methods. Another important difference between these two studies was that Jaques paid relatively less attention to task related issues and relatively more attention to methods of payment than other investigators.

Jaques and his team worked almost exclusively at the group level of analysis. Except for some detailed treatment of the managing director's dilemmas and difficulties, there was no other lengthy account of individual behavior. Like Whyte and Hamilton, Jaques and his colleagues primarily worked with groups. The primary intergroup issues that received attention in their study were the hierarchically oriented ones between labor and management and between middle and upper management. Except for the study of the service department, there was very little mention of functional disputes arising out of work flow.

The research team did not intervene with solutions to the problems faced by Glacier; on the contrary, they saw their tasks as

. . . developing methods of offering technical assistance to group that requested the help. . . in exploring underlying and concealed forces -- whether psychological, cultural, structural, or technological -- that were impeding their progress or otherwise reducing their efficiency. . . . (Jaques, 1952, p. 306.)

To accomplish this task, the members of the team observed and interpreted dynamics that seemed to be operating in a situation and preventing resolution of issues. In this fashion, the researcher-consultants helped the groups "work through" some of the tensions and dilemmas that affected performance, and facilitated the development of organizational structures to increase sanction of managerial authority by all levels.

Although it is clear that the primary purpose of the Jaques (1952) study was to generate theory rather than test it, and to explore rather than influence the organizational dynamics of change, it also seems clear that the interventions of the research team did in fact influence organization members and decisions. The report suggests that in fact the interventions aided "working through" of organizational issues and facilitated the development of solutions to a number of complex problems. In addition, the study produced some very fruitful theoretical speculations.

A more recent study has been reported by Marrow, Bowers, and Seashore (1967). Organization development activities began in the Weldon Manufacturing Corporation in 1962. The project was coordinated by the top managers of the organization, and they brought in teams of researchers and consultants to intervene massively into organizational functioning.

The project began with the acquisition of Weldon by its major competitor, the Harwood Manufacturing Corporation. When it became clear that considerable changes in managerial climate would be required if Weldon were to match Harwood's levels of productivity, the new owners hired consultants to work on the social and technical subsystems and to develop

ways of evaluating the outcomes of their interventions. In short, consultant entry occurred as an outcome of an active search by the corporation for needed resource to implement planned changes.

Much of the diagnostic activity had taken place before the consultants appeared on the scene. The new owners had already decided that much of Weldon's low productivity was a function of a relatively tyrannical managerial style, and that changes in work flow and managerial style were needed to increase productivity and efficiency. They also decided to use the opportunity to develop systematic research on the antecedents and consequences of organizational change, and so brought in a research team to confirm their diagnosis and to evaluate the impact of interventions.

The interventions at Weldon occurred in three stages: (1) a "protecting the human investment" phase immediately after the acquisition that consisted of diagnostic activities rather than massive changes and so led to a receptive instead of a resistant climate among employees; (2) an "improving the plant work flow" in which the task system was reorganized and changes in production and control methods were introduced; and (3) a "social system changes" phase in which alterations in the managerial system were introduced by interventions like participative management by the new owners and the consultants, training to improve interpersonal relations and skills among managers and supervisors, joint problem-solving activities across all levels of the organization, and "a concerted effort to distribute responsibility and influence downward in the organization" (Marrow, Bowers and Seashore, 1967:70).

The Weldon project represents a departure from earlier work in a number of ways. During the period of one year there were massive inputs from external consultants, both technical and human-processual. In general these inputs proceeded in a number of ordered ways. Technical work

preceded human processual activities, and the introduction of sensitivity training began at the top of the system, subsequently working its way downward into the system. The Weldon project is "second generation" organizational development, and the practices employed reflected greater certainty on the part of management and behavioral scientists. A substantial portion of the intervention activity might be classified as education or training designed to bring the new organization "up to date" with the more highly valued Harwood management practices. It is apparent throughout that Harwood's history of "successful" experimentation with participative management practices had a strong influence on both the Harwood management and on the behavioral consultants. As a result, diagnosis did not represent a large portion of the activity. Alfred Marrow, the chief executive and most senior behavioral scientist, thought he knew what had to be done and proceeded to do it.

Within this more programmed approach, however, many of the features noted in the preceding studies may also be observed. There was attention to individuals in two primary ways. First, various key individuals in the change program wrote chapters in the book. Included among the authors were both technical and behavioral consultants and both management and non-management (i.e., a labor leader) members of the system. By having these individuals contribute their views to the account of the change program, Marrow demonstrated a kind of participation in reporting and allowed different views of the same events to emerge. Second, there were also accounts of individual managers and executives who had difficulty with the new management style and subsequently left the system. Generally these individuals tended to be portrayed as secretive, rigid, and authoritarian, and their close association with the former owners of Weldon was clearly noted. Intervention units were hierarchical groups initially, and, as the

utilization of behavioral science techniques proceeded downward into the organization, the groups receiving the most attention became floor-level functional work teams. Closely associated with the purchase of Weldon by Harwood was the union organization of Weldon. Prior to the change in ownership the Weldon organization had not been organized, largely, it seemed, due to successful intimidation of employees by the former owners. After the purchase by Harwood, union organization proceeded and resulted in some increased trust of management by labor. The other place where intergroup problems were mentioned was in the relationship between manufacturing and merchandising, where ultimately several Weldon merchandising managers left the new organization. While it is clear that intergroup issues were a part of the Weldon project, it is also apparent that they received less attention than intragroup issues.

The authors evaluate the impact of the interventions on four dimensions: (1) organizational performance, (2) operator performance, (3) attitude changes, and (4) changes in managerial philosophy. Organizational performance, measured in terms of return on capital investment, production efficiency, turnover, and absenteeism, improved relative to previous performance and relative to the competing Harwood plant. Operator performance increased by thirty percent of standard over a one year period. Attitudes changed in the expected directions, though less markedly than performance. There was evidence that the managerial philosophy at Weldon changed as planned toward participative assumptions. A subsequent study (Seashore and Bowers, 1970) indicated that many attitude changes persisted for several years afterwards, and that some improved even more over time.

A fourth case of behavioral science-based intervention on behalf of planned organizational change is reported by Hill (1971), who describes the company development program begun in 1965 by Shell UK Limited. The

company's internal Employee Relations Planning (ERP) unit worked with several representatives of the Tavistock Institute in England to develop and implement the program, with the major burden of diagnosis, intervention, and evaluation falling on the internal group.

The external researcher-consultants from Tavistock came on the scene after the initial diagnosis and action plan had been devised. The ERP unit asked them for independent confirmation of their diagnosis and for help with implementing the action plans they had devised.

The ERP unit's diagnosis of the company's relatively low productivity (confirmed by the Tavistock consultants) indicated that two sources contributed to the problems: (1) negative attitudes of employees to their jobs and to the company, and (2) restrictions and constraints on employment from years of competitive bargaining with trade unions. The ERP unit believed that the problems could not be alleviated by ordinary bargaining tactics: fundamental changes in attitudes of management and employees leading to increased trust and sharing of responsibilities were necessary.

The ERP unit proposed two interventions to attain the needed changes. First, the ERP unit recommended change towards "a more participative style" of management (Hill, 1971:45) through development, dissemination, and general adoption of a statement of company objectives and management philosophy. They hoped that these discussions would lead to attitude changes toward increased trust and a joint problem-solving approach to the issues. This new climate was expected to facilitate the second set of interventions: negotiation of productivity bargains that would remove some of the restrictive practices and clear the way for mutually beneficial job redesigns. It was hoped that the interventions together would lead to increased commitment, satisfaction, and productivity for the organization as a whole.

Like the Weldon project, the Shell UK undertaking was also a "second

generation" organizational development project. In the early portion of his report, Hill (1971) provides an overview of the series of projects undertaken by researcher-consultants from the Tavistock Institute. Also like the Weldon project, the Shell UK intervention program spent relatively little time on diagnosis and more effort on implementation. A major target--if not the primary aim--of the work was to alter the destructive intergroup competition that existed between the Shell management and the many labor unions with whom they had contracts. In conjunction with external consultants from Tavistock, the ERP team adopted the concepts of "socio-technical systems" as both "proven" theory and desirable ideology and sought means to implement them. Although extensive efforts were made to educate or "sell" the management on more participative management style, the major points of change were the jobs and relationships of first line management and labor in Shell production operations.

Very little attention was given to individuals per se in this study, except to deal with certain role incumbents such as the managing director. Group methods for implementing change were used through the project. An extensive series of off-site conferences were employed to develop and communicate the new management philosophy, and, as the new management style was put into operation at the shop floor level, supervisors were encouraged to utilize group meetings more frequently and effectively. A critical period before labor and management attempted to achieve new productivity bargains was spent by a series of ad hoc labor-management problem solving teams who attempted to explore crucial issues that would come up in the bargaining sessions.

Implementation of these proposals at several different sites after their acceptance by top management led to a number of results. The management philosophy and objectives, which focused on development of both

economic and the human resources of the company, were widely accepted by both managers and employees. Subsequent implementation steps were undertaken in some locations, including socio-technical analysis, role analysis, and some organizational redesign. Productivity bargains were negotiated that eliminated overtime, established an annual salary basis of payment for all employees, and extended job and time flexibility. Although Hill reports little in the way of systematic evaluation activities, the anecdotal data and the results of an informal questionnaire administered to participating systems suggest that the interventions did in fact affect organizational functioning substantially.

A number of themes run through these four studies that are relevant to the study of organizational development as a whole. Although no conclusive statements can be made on the basis of four case studies alone, these common threads suggest areas for attention in organizational development activities elsewhere.

First of all, these projects ranged from one to three years in length, and some effects took longer than three years to appear (Bowers and Seashore, 1970). Organizational change is not a "quick and dirty" process, even given massive interventions.

Second, these projects involved interventions that affected both organization processes and structures, and that focused on both people and technology. Although there is some tendency to focus on either people or technology among consultants, successful organizational change activities may require change in both.

Third, the interventions in these cases effected several hierarchical levels and different groups in the organization. Whyte and Hamilton (1964) and Jaques (1962) report serial interventions with a succession of different groups and levels, and Marrow, Bowers and Seashore (1967) and Hill (1971)

report simultaneous interventions across all levels of the organizations. Successful change efforts may call for multi-level interventions across the organizational hierarchy.

Fourth, though all the projects involved interventions across many levels and aspects of the organization, they also all rested on the support and active involvement of top management. All these projects had early support from top management, and three of them maintained that support throughout the work. Whyte and Hamilton (1964) speculate that their failure to deal effectively with top management was related to the early termination of the project (though the personnel manager's good relations made it possible for him to stay on effectively for two more years). The support of top management is not sufficient to guarantee success of the project, but it may well be necessary to it.

Fifth, the first two projects have a somewhat different focus from the latter two. Whyte and Hamilton (1964) and Jaques (1952) adopt an explicitly exploratory stance to the organization and its change processes; they seek to facilitate constructive change in the organizations, but even more they seek to understand their dynamics and to generate conceptual frameworks to explain the events they witness. They are predominantly researchers, albeit action researchers. Marrow, Bowers, and Seashore (1967) and Hill (1971), in contrast, focus much more on explicit interventions to press planned organizational change; they seek data about the impacts of their interventions to evaluate their effectiveness and test the underlying theories rather than to generate new conceptual frameworks. They are predominantly change agents, albeit change agents who collect information about their effects.

This shift of emphasis reflects in part the growth of theory and technology for organizational development during the two decades between

the studies. Theory testing activities are more appropriate today than they were in the "first generation" studies. On the other hand, the shift reflects a change in patterns of study initiation: the earlier two studies were initiated and controlled by academia-based researchers. The latter two, in contrast, were initiated by organization managers, who called in external academics to perform specific functions in programs coordinated and planned by managers interested in results rather than theories. In all four studies, a combination of internal and external personnel diagnosed the system, planned and implemented interventions, and evaluated their impacts, but the relative roles of internal and external agents shifted over time, and the internal people took substantially more responsibility and initiative in the later studies than did the external researcher-consultants.

Sixth, while all of the studies included some kind of evaluation of the effort, they varied considerably in the nature of the assessment. At one extreme on a continuum of systematic completeness of evaluation was the Marrow, Bowers, and Seashore (1967) study. These investigators used survey instruments to collect before and after attitude measures and extensively combed company records for indicators of performance and financial return. At the other extreme was the Hill (1971) report which relied solely on anecdotal accounts and responses to a questionnaire sent out from top management asking what changes had come about as a result of the new management philosophy. The other two studies were less systematic than Bowers and Seashore and more thorough than Hill.

Seventh, the four studies share a focus on profit making organizations. This condition alone may explain why it is possible to identify developmental trends in change technology and management influence. During the twenty year period covered by the studies much has been learned about

organizational development technology for profit making concerns and could be applied in the later studies. The present study is the first of its kind, so far as we know, in a boarding school. As a result we did not have a body of "institutional" knowledge to draw upon, although we most certainly benefitted from general developments in organizational development technology.

III. SCHOOLS AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Schools are organizations similar in many respects to the profit-making organizations in which most of the early organizational development work was done. But schools are also different in some important ways from business and industry. In this section we will discuss some of the important differences and similarities between schools and profit-making organizations with an eye to their implications for the transfer of organizational development technology from the latter to the former.

Schools share with profit-making organizations the problems of trying to operate in a highly turbulent environment. (Emery and Trist, 1965) Industrialized societies in general and ours in particular are experiencing accelerating rates of social change (Toffler, 1971). Such rates of change, fueled by increasingly rapid technological change, are rapidly making old assumptions about the sources of stability in society obsolete (Schon, 1971). Schools must somehow manage the turbulent complexity of the social environment both to survive in the short term and to forecast accurately the sorts of skills they should be transferring to their students. As Silberman puts it:

. . . students need to learn far more than the basic skills. For children who may still be in the labor force in the year 2030, nothing could be more wildly impractical than an education designed to prepare them for specific vocations or professions or to facilitate their adjustment to the world

as it is. To be "practical," an education should prepare them for work that does not yet exist and whose nature cannot even be imagined. (Silberman, 1970, p. 114.)

Managing present environmental complexity and planning for future turbulence are tasks that profit-making institutions must cope with as well as schools. The practice of organizational development evolved in businesses may well have insights to offer that would benefit schools.

Schools also share with businesses the dilemmas of managing tensions internal to the system. To some extent such tensions may well be a function of the external environment (cf. Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967), but they may also be generated by internal sources. Inevitably compulsory universal education leads to microcosmic replication of the tensions of the larger society in its schools, even though gerrymandered school districts can produce relatively homogeneous schools. Race, socio-economic class, religion, generation, and other wellsprings of social conflict are often represented in classrooms in potentially explosive form. Efforts to manage these tensions in themselves may exacerbate the conflicts in some schools to the point where order must be kept by posting police in the corridors.

Managing internal tensions and maintenance in ways that contribute to task fulfillment has been a preoccupation of organizational development practice in business, and there should be elements of the practice that are relevant to schools as well.

Schools have rather different social functions from most businesses, however. They are charged with the task of linking the younger generation with the larger society -- a role critical to the society and the students alike. If the schools cannot successfully provide the youth with the tools to take a part in the larger society, the culture cannot sustain itself. One implication of the school's linking role is that the content and process of education is vitally important to the society: it has been argued that

some aspects of education may strongly effect the society's subsequent economic performance (McClelland, 1961) and that the educational process determines in large part the nature of the society created by its students (Illich, 1972). Another implication of the linking function is that the nature of the society is likely to affect the quality of education, no matter what the overt rhetoric (Freire, 1970). Although there is evidence to suggest that the schools could play a real role in catalysing the development of students whatever their backgrounds and expectations (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968), the presently available evidence suggests that schools tend to preserve the class differences among students rather than open up access to the upper levels of the society to merit (Jancks et al., 1972).

Generally schools offer an important interface at which important social changes might be more easily catalyzed than with most businesses. But they are also -- in large part because of their strategic role -- very vulnerable to influence and intervention by interested external parties entering from the environment. This difference offers both new vistas of possible effects and new challenges to the practice of organizational development evolved in business organizations.

Schools also differed from most business organizations in that their primary inputs and outputs are people rather than material goods or services, and there is a qualitative difference between processing materials and processing people. Although educators differ in the extent to which they see their mission as shaping students to fit the culture ("socialization") or as providing opportunities for individuals to realize their potentials ("development"), most schools engage in some level of both activities. Students are likely to respond to the "process" of education as well as its content, unlike raw materials that can be depended on to respond

relatively predictably. When the technology of education calls on students to be passive receptacles into which the teacher "banks" the knowledge called for in the curriculum, the students may learn more about being passive learners than about the content intended (Freire, 1970). The school's "raw materials" are singularly vulnerable to warping and damage in the transformation process, and that damage may even be perceived as the goal of education by those who have undergone it.

Organisational development activities in schools may involve work with the "raw materials" themselves as well as the people that staff the organization (Schmuck and Miles, 1971). That work may be justly perceived by some educators as an attack on the roots of educational practice, and so face complex problems of resistance and antagonism within the school.

Schools are different from business organizations in important respects, and boarding schools in turn differ from ordinary schools. Most boarding schools, for example, are privately supported and so free from some of the constraints imposed on public schools. They can be more selective in admissions, and so are likely to have a more academically able student body. They are often less vulnerable to arbitrary invasion of their finances or policies by outside authorities. Greater control over their external boundary allows innovations and experimental programs that most public schools could not attempt, and their financial resources may allow activity or facilities that are simply not available to public schools.

A second difference lies in the extent to which the boarding schools encompass the lives of their students. Students in ordinary schools spend four to eight hours a day in the school, five days a week; students who board live at school twenty-four hours a day, often for seven days a week. Boarding schools are, in Goffman's (1961) phrase, "total institutions" whose influence can be pervasive. "Total institutions" are the "forcing houses

for changing persons" (Goffman, 1961:12). Boarding schools in this light can have a much greater impact on their students' lives and learning than less encompassing schools.

There have been extensive efforts to foster constructive change in schools during the last two decades:

When one talks or writes about education these days, the temptation to use such phrases as innovation, educational ferment, technological revolution, or explosive growth is irresistible. One cannot avoid them, for explosive and revolutionary changes are occurring in education. (Chauncey, 1967, quoted in Gross, et al., 1971, p. 2.)

But those efforts have led to disappointingly little in the way of durable constructive change (Gross, et al., 1971). Part of this failure may be the result of an inadequate theory and practice of change implementation, as Gross et al.'s (1971) exhaustive analysis of a failed innovation in an elementary school suggests. Poor preparation and implementation may sabotage an innovation in spite of initial enthusiasm.

Sarason (1971), in a provocative consideration of his extensive experience with innovating schools, has suggested that the culture of the schools themselves may create ecological pressures that sabotage change. His analyses of different aspects of attempts to change schools lead again and again to the same conclusion: "the more things change, the more they stay the same."

In recent years, more attention has been paid to the application of technologies devised to foster change in business organizations to the problems of planned change in schools (e.g., Schmuck and Miles, 1971). Several of the studies reported by Schmuck and Miles show persuasive evidence for the hypothesis that organizational development interventions resulted in positive changes in the way school personnel felt and sometimes behaved, though the evidence for changes that affected the students over the long

term was a good deal more sketchy. The studies suggest that more application of organizational development technology to the problems of schools would be worthwhile.

IV. LEARNING FROM CHANGING

The present study is a case analysis of a single boarding school -- the Gaight School -- that chose to engage in a four-year research and consultation relationship with the authors as external researcher-consultants. We believe that this study contributes to behavioral science knowledge in several areas unexplored in the case studies of organizational development so far available.

First, we believe that this case offers new empirical and theoretical knowledge about the functioning of organizations. At the most specific level, this is the most detailed study of an independent school available. There have been rich clinical studies of independent schools (Prescott, 1970) and intensive studies of school change projects (Gross et al., 1971). But there are no comparable systematic longitudinal studies of independent schools operating and changing over time.

At a more abstract level, we believe this study offers insights relevant to other systems that face similar issues: the study is relevant to other systems that must process people (e.g., service industries, the court system, entertainment industries), to other social units that are "total institutions" (e.g., submarines and SkyLabs), or to organizations that are -- like the Gaight School -- "total institutions" engaged in changing people (mental hospitals, prisons, boot camps, thought reform cells).

Second, we believe that this study offers empirical findings and theoretical structures for understanding more about the processes of

behavioral science intervention into organizational functioning. Recent investigations of organizational development projects have focused on intervention technology and designed research to verify the efficacy of interventions rather than to generate new theory. Though schools offer the virgin field for theoretical exploration that Whyte and Hamilton (1964) and Jaques (1952) encountered in profit-making organizations fifteen years ago, the work in school systems to date (e.g., Schmuck and Miles, 1971) has done more to verify known technology than to invent new theoretical frameworks. This study is explicitly oriented to the generation of new theory as well as the verification of old.

Third, we have tried in this study to develop new understandings of the research process and to invent new methodologies more appropriate to the task in which we were engaged than "traditional" research technology. We have tried to be explicit about the methodological assumptions with which we began, and to present innovations in research theory and methodology that developed during the study. The present study is similar to recent cases of organizational development in its emphasis on directed intervention on behalf of planned change and to earlier cases of organizational development in its systematic research on behalf of intervention evaluation and theory development.

Finally, we have tried to embody the major contribution of this study in its title, Learning from Changing. The order of words in the title reflects our bias, as academics, on behalf of understanding. Had the book been written by representatives of the Gaight School, or by ourselves operating in another mode, the title might have been Changing from Learning. In either case, the most important aspect of the title inheres in the inseparability of the two concepts. We could not have learned what we did

without being committed to constructive change at Gaith; we could not have been helpful to constructive change without being committed to learning. In our view the most crucial contribution this study could make would be to further the integration of the theory, research, and practice of applied behavioral science in the service of constructive organizational change and increased understanding of organizations, human beings, and the processes of change. We believe that all three aspects -- research, practice, and theory -- must be integrated for the full realization of the potentials of any of them, and we strove to create synergy among them in this study. We believe and hope that this book contributes to our capacity to manage the potential conflicts among them creatively.

Chapter Two

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE AND THE GAIGHT SCHOOL

Chapter One presented background relevant to this study from the perspective of behavioral science work with organizations. This chapter is intended to introduce the reader to the more specific context of this study by providing background information on the school involved, the researcher-consultants, the events that brought them together in this project, and the interactions that constituted the project.

I. THE ORGANIZATION: THE GAIGHT SCHOOL¹

The Gaight School is situated in a small New England town, surrounded by well-kept old houses and rolling fields. The turbulence and dynamism of modern urban America seems far away from this pastoral setting, though many of its students come from the big city.

Gaight is an "independent" school, modelled in many ways after the English "public" schools that have, for centuries, inculcated upper class manners and mores into the children of the elite. The school offers secondary school education of very high quality to young men whose parents can afford the tuition or who received financial aid. But Gaight's "independence" is a double-edged sword, the opportunity to set high academic standards for incoming students is balanced by the necessity for boosting tuition tariffs and fattening the school's endowment to meet rising costs

¹The name of the school has been changed to preserve confidentiality as much as possible. We have made some other alterations to preserve confidentiality without distorting critical aspects of the school's reality.

without the aid of public funds.

At one time, Gaight could assure anxious parents that a "prep school" diploma was a great help in gaining entrance to the top Ivy League colleges. But changes in the external world are exerting considerable pressure on the school today. The top colleges have changed their admissions criteria, and they search further afield for new freshmen than they once did. The decline in the comparative advantage of a Gaight diploma is exacerbated in its effects on the school by two other developments. First, rising costs have increased the importance of enrolling children whose families can afford to pay high tuitions, even though those children may not be academically talented. But this trend contributes to the decline in the rate of student admissions to prestigious colleges. Second, Gaight is increasingly sensitive to charges that it is an elitist institution that offers little to students whose families are not already wealthy. But successful recruitment of less financially fortunate students contributes to Gaight's economic difficulties.

At the inception of this study Gaight was also enduring a fairly high level of internal tension. The rise of the "counter culture" in the external world was felt at Gaight in several ways, including increases in rebellious activism and the development of serious problems of drug use. Faculty reactions to these developments have been mixed. For some, the changes in student attitudes and behavior violate cherished expectations, and they are very disturbed. For others, the changes are long overdue, and they want more of the same.

In the spring of 1969, the faculty differences were epitomized by the resignations of two teachers. One veteran of many years at the school decided to resign early because he found the changes intolerable. As he explained in a long letter to the school newspaper:

It would seem that suddenly traditions are dead (or very sick)--patriotism, honor, manners, good taste, even cleanliness. If an ideal was ever revered, it is now reviled. . . . The lack of dedication of this modern generation of students is appalling; a "play it cool" syndrome is everpresent. . . . While there is, admittedly, a great deal of loud talk by youth about civil rights, helping the disadvantaged, conservation, improving education, and other worthy causes, the result is all too often just loud talk or an occasional riot--fun but requiring little effort. . . . Human youngsters have often tested their parents. . . . but never before now have they achieved the upper hand. I do not know what name history will give the generation represented by the youth of today, but the word "chicken" may well be associated with ours. . . .

At the same time, a relative newcomer to the school decided to resign because he thought the necessary changes were too slow in coming. In the same edition of the newspaper he explained:

It seems to me that, generally speaking, Gaight students have tremendous capabilities for imagination, but so long as the school demands a response in its own terms, a response that is not necessarily authentic for each student, then it fails to tap into the resources that each student has. . . . I know that some students have little idea of their own interests, but I suspect that Duberman is right in saying that they have been told what to do for so long that they have lost the ability to decide for themselves. That is very sad, but at the same time it is asinine to continue to regulate them. They must at least be given a chance to decide.

Both men, typically for Gaight faculty, put the students at the center of their discussions; even in their disagreement, it is clear that faculty indifference to students is not a problem. Gaight has not been devoid of resources in the face of internal and external pressures. But effective use of those resources to cope with the school's dilemmas has been difficult.

Gaight's headmaster, for example, was a young and dynamic ex-college administrator whose arrival in the early sixties ushered in an era of change at the school. He is widely known among his colleagues as a progressive and innovative headmaster, and even the Gaight students see him as "liberal". He was in large part responsible for Gaight's relatively

relaxed standards for student dress, haircuts, and so on.

But the headmaster also saw himself as paying a considerable price for the changes he had effected. Six years of effort had resulted in many changes, but they had been purchased early by people in the system--especially the headmaster.

Gaigh students have also been interested in contributing to constructive change, though their efforts in that direction have met with mixed results. In the spring of 1969, a committee of students and faculty designed a "Change at Gaigh" Day that engaged students and faculty in discussions of needed changes at the school. The day of discussions created an opportunity for students and faculty to communicate about issues of importance, but brought few tangible results. Five weeks later the Chairman of the "Change at Gaigh" Committee wrote in the newspaper:

True to its name, the Committee for Change at Gaigh must undergo a change. We realize that we were ineffective and are ready to improve the committee. . . . [We] could not find out the general feelings of the students. . . [and] we were powerless. . . all that is certain in the future of the change committee is change.

To put it briefly, students, faculty, and administrators of the school all perceived both the need for constructive change and the importance of stability in the spring of 1969, but they differed in the changes they perceived to be desirable. They were unable to work with the other groups or often even with their own colleagues, and they were frustrated with the lack of success of past efforts on behalf of constructive change.

The school brought both pain and potential to discussions of possible work with the researcher-consultants. The headmaster articulated two major school objectives for work with us: (1) help in managing the present tensions internal to the school, and (2) help in planning and implementing changes at the school appropriate to innovative education in the seventies.

II. THE RESEARCHER-CONSULTANTS: ALDERFER AND BROWN

The researcher-consultants acted both as individuals and as a team. This section will present background information about them in both modes, and describe briefly some of the values and objectives they brought to work with the school.

Alderfer graduated from public high school in Pennsylvania and from Yale College in 1962 with a B.S. from the School of Engineering. After a year as a special student, he enrolled as a graduate student in Organizational Behavior in the Yale Department of Administrative Sciences and received his Ph.D. in 1966. He taught at the Cornell School of Business and Public Administration for two years, and returned to Yale in 1968 where he is now Associate Professor of Organizational Behavior.

Alderfer has been particularly interested in the issues of human needs in organizational settings (Alderfer, 1972). His present theoretical work includes human personality, organizational diagnosis and change, intergroup relations, and the development of applied behavioral science methodologies. He is both personally and professionally concerned with the processes of teaching and learning in organizational settings. He is an Adjunct Fellow of the NTL Institute of Applied Behavioral Science, and he is a charter member of the International Association of Applied Behavioral Scientists. He has extensive experience as an organizational development consultant and as a laboratory educator in various settings.

Brown graduated from Milton Academy, a boarding school in many ways similar to Gaight, and from Harvard College with a B.A. in Social Relations in 1963. He spent two years as a Peace Corps community organizer in Ethiopia before enrolling in Yale Law School. After two years of law school, he joined the Organizational Behavior program as well. He

received an LL.B. in 1969 and a Ph.D. in Organizational Behavior in 1971, and is now Assistant Professor of Organizational Behavior at Case Western Reserve University.

Brown wrote his dissertation on individual, group, and organizational consequences of the diagnostic feedback meetings at Gaight (see Chapter Eight). His theoretical interests include understanding and facilitating the processes of change in social systems at various levels (including communities, organizations, and groups), the problems of intergroup relations, and the development of action research methodologies. He is also interested in the problems and processes of teaching and learning. He is an accredited member of the International Association of Applied Social Scientists, and has worked as a community organizer, laboratory educator, and organizational development consultant.

Although we work as individuals a good deal of the time, it is clear that one of the important aspects of our work with Gaight was our presence as a team. In our view, our collaboration substantially enhanced the quality of our work with the school, and some discussions of our differences and similarities and the ways in which they influenced our work together is important for understanding the outcomes of the project.

We are similar in many ways, and our similarities facilitated our work together. We are almost the same age, and we share a number of professional interests, as indicated above. We both use the conceptual tools and technology of applied behavioral science to understand and intervene into organizational dynamics. We also share some of the associated assumptions about the importance of participant influence on change processes. We are both familiar with and frequently use the tools of laboratory education in our work with organizations.

We also share some important values. We are both committed to constructive social change and to developing the potentials of people. We would like to increase the range of choices open to individuals and groups with which we work, to encourage the development of mutual and authentic relationships among people, and to help create more effective working relationships. We are also both centrally concerned with contributing to man's knowledge of himself, his organizations, and the processes with which he must deal. We tend to view our consulting work as an opportunity to advance our research and conceptual interests as well as a chance to contribute to constructive change. Finally, we share a commitment to our own development as researchers, as consultants, and as human beings, and we see our work with clients as a possible arena for furthering that development.

We are also different in many ways, and those differences have been a source of both strain and insight. Once we learned to manage our differences in ways that allowed us to explore rather than submerge them, or to fight win-lose battles around them, they proved to be an important adjunct to our collaboration.

Some of our differences are rooted in our experiential backgrounds. Alderfer graduated from public high school in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and he is consequently a foreigner to much of the culture of the Gaight School. Brown, on the other hand, found himself re-living much of his own adolescence in conversations and interviews with school members. This background difference proved very fruitful in the course of the diagnosis, for the combination of Alderfer's psychological distance and Brown's involvement made it possible for both of us to understand events more richly and clearly.

We also differed in some important aspects of our organizational and

professional identities. Alderfer was an experienced organizational consultant; Brown less so. More importantly, Alderfer was a faculty member of the department in which Brown was a graduate student; Alderfer was, in fact, chairman of Brown's dissertation committee. This role difference sometimes reduced Brown's contributions to the work, particularly under stress. But we worked hard to deal with such role problems and on the whole managed to work as colleagues or this book would not have been written. Our role differences made it easier for Brown to identify with students and for Alderfer to identify with faculty, which contributed to our understanding of school dynamics. This was particularly true when the role difference was important to school members. The Gaight Assessment Committee in its report on the "Yale Study" (see Chapter Twelve) identified the researcher-consultants as "Professor Alderfer and Dave Brown" -- a description that emphasized a role difference that no longer technically existed because Brown had been a "professor" for a year when the report was written.

There are also some important differences in our intellectual and perceptual "sets" to the world and its phenomena. These "sets" are not exclusive: the differences tend to be in degree rather than in kind, but relative differences do exist and influence our behavior. Alderfer, for example, has more "quantitative" background and more commitment to systematic research and data analysis; Brown has more training and inclination to "advocacy" and action. Alderfer's writing tends to be "data-based" and meticulously detailed; Brown tends to be polemical and "literary". Working together has affected these differences: we have come to share much of each other's views of the world, and enriched both ourselves and the work thereby.

No collaboration is perfect. More differences between us might have produced a richer mix of insight and understanding than we achieved. Our

respective roles sometimes confused or hindered collaboration: Brown was sometimes tempted to "cop out" and let Alderfer handle difficult issues even if it was more appropriate for Brown to do it; Alderfer sometimes muzzled himself to avoid over-influencing Brown's dissertation. As our role distance and its problems decreased with the completion of Brown's doctorate, geographical distance and other problems increased with his move to Cleveland in 1971.

After Brown moved, the pattern of the collaboration changed in an important way. Alderfer became the primary external consultant to Gaight, and in that role became more involved in the school than he had been as a researcher. Simultaneously, Brown's distance took him further out of the system. At several significant points, Brown acted as an external consultant to Alderfer, helping him to understand how his involvement in the system was affecting his consultation.

In our view, much of the synergism of our collaboration has been the consequence of concerted attempts to "practice what we preach" by communicating as openly as we could all the relevant information about the tasks in which we were engaged. Like other human beings, we were not always able to examine our differences openly or rationally, but we tried to deal as directly as possible with each other. Our efforts often made us uncomfortable; they provoked anxiety and disruption if our differences were central. But eventually we began to trust each other to deal directly with problems, and that trust allowed us to collaborate effectively as well as to model some of the behaviors we were recommending to the school.

We brought two general constellations of values with us to Gaight. One set concerns the development of understanding and knowledge of human beings and social systems. We are committed to learning, our own and others', about the world we live in and the people and systems that populate

it. The other set involves the development of human potentials and contributions to constructive change in social systems. In short, we value both "research" and "action" outcomes of our work.

More specifically, there are a number of objectives for our work that flow from these commitments. We would like to contribute to the empirical findings, conceptual frameworks, and research methodologies available for understanding organizations and for understanding planned change activities and interventions. We are particularly interested in trying to understand more about the interactions and intersections of practice, research, and theory in facilitating planned change.

It can be argued that work with a private school for the elite at a time when public schools are desperately in need of resources is hardly consistent with a commitment to social change and the betterment of all people. But we contend that Gaight offered us an opportunity to contribute to the infant theory and practice of planned change available in few public schools. Applied behavioral science may not yet be ready to successfully study and change the urgent complexities of public school systems. Gaight offered a relatively well-bounded system with the potential for constructive change in response to careful diagnosis.

At the same time, Gaight offered a set of potential problems that may exceed in complexity those of more "open" social systems. Because Gaight was a "total institution", the degree of inertia from interdependence among the parts of the system was probably greater than in most public schools. We chose to work with a system whose richness in "traditional" resources (e.g., intelligence, finances, facilities) was probably matched by the strength of the forces arrayed against change. (e.g., established traditions, isolation from the external environment, commitment to narrowly-defined standards of excellence.)

This view of the situation highlights what some might consider a split between our values and our stance toward change activities. We agree with the "radical" view that virtually all organizations in our society are far less humane than is desirable, and that our cultural development requires drastic changes in our institutions and values. Far too often human beings are needlessly played off against each other; exercises in "learning" are really activities designed to get ahead in the system; those with power, influence, and status maintain them through exploitation of those without. But we are also suspicious of "revolutionary changes" or conversion experiences that are accomplished through apparently quick or coercive means. We believe that durable changes are accomplished by hard, persistent, and painful work that includes thorough diagnosis, sustained self-scrutiny, and flexible action. There are no simple panaceas in social and institutional change, and easy answers all too often verify the maxim of "the more things change, the more they stay the same."

IV. ORGANIZATION AND RESEARCHER-CONSULTANTS: COMING TOGETHER

In the spring of 1969, after a winter term later described as "tense", a faculty committee charged with planning the final two weeks before graduation for seniors decided to explore the possibilities of a laboratory education experience. They contacted the Department of Administrative Science at Yale, and met with a group of interested faculty and graduate students to talk about what might be done. Enough interest was expressed by both sides at that meeting to make further exploration worthwhile.

After this initial contact, we visited Gaight to discuss with the headmaster the possibilities of a two-day laboratory workshop for seniors. We returned later to discuss the workshop with the seniors to see how many were interested in participating, to frankly discuss the costs and benefits

of workshop participation, and to administer questionnaires as part of a research project associated with the workshop.

The workshop was designed to increase the level of open and direct communication among the participants in the hope that those norms would facilitate frank discussions in the following week of seminars. Three faculty members and five advanced graduate students came from Yale to staff eight groups of participants: three groups of seniors, three groups half seniors and half senior girls from two neighboring private schools, and two groups half senior and half faculty. The workshops were designed and participants screened in consultation with school faculty; all the Gaight seniors (about 80% of the class) who wanted to participate did so, but size constraints forced us to randomly exclude some girls and some faculty volunteers.

In the course of the two days a laboratory culture developed that was quite different from the "normal" Gaight culture. Some rules were relaxed for participants, like those prohibiting smoking in the meeting rooms and being outside the dormitories in the evening. But more importantly, the norms that governed interaction among people were changed. Communication became more open, and feelings were dealt with that had been submerged -- in some cases for years. The resulting release of tensions and development of increased trust had major impacts on participants' abilities to express concern and affection for one another, to seek and obtain help from each other, and even to engage in whimsy (at one point non-participants were flabbergasted to see mud-covered apparitions in the halls that turned out to be a Yale professor and his T-group who had been belly-sliding in mud puddles on the lacrosse field).

Every workshop participant said that he would like to participate in another one in a follow-up questionnaire administered a week later. An

article in the school alumni bulletin (written by a participant faculty member) noted that:

The sensitivity sessions. . . proved far more successful than anyone. . . could have predicted. From them there developed an extraordinary sense of openness and exhilaration which infused the activities of the entire week. . . a faculty-student panel on Alumni Day which discussed the experience made it quite clear that the affirmative feelings of those who had participated in the sensitivity sessions had spilled over into the other areas of the school.

Following that article were a series of quotes from workshop participants.

Although the quotes may be subject to a selection bias, they were overwhelmingly positive. Some students stressed the improvement in relationships with other students that resulted:

I now have twelve more close friends. Many of my former acquaintances are now my friends. . . . I really feel a part of the class for the first time.

I was in a group of twelve seniors, people I had been living with for four years, and when we came out after these two days, it was just an entirely different relationship for everyone in the entire group---because we had been living so close and yet had been so distant. It was fabulous some of the relationships that developed. People who had been snubbing other people publicly for four years. . . suddenly had to sit down and confront one another. . . and when this confrontation was over, the feeling of closeness and class unity was something I had never experienced at Gaight. And I think I can speak for the whole class when I say that never at one time has our whole class felt so close together and so happy in being at Gaight.

Other students were particularly affected by the opportunity to learn more about themselves:

I came out of [the workshop] knowing more about myself in what couldn't have amounted to more than ten hours than I've learned in the past ten years.

Faculty members were also impressed with both the change in atmosphere and the chance to work on relationships:

I find myself with a warm glow. I catch myself smiling for no particular reason. I notice too that everyone else seems happier -- even those who weren't part of this experience.

. . . I think the young people who were in the groups with faculty realized that the faculty were, indeed, human and

humane. . . similarly, I think the faculty came away with the feeling that the students weren't really critical of the society just for the sake of being critical. . . .

One consequence of the workshop was that a relatively formal common room that had been used for "community meetings" by the workshop became in fact a "community room" for the rest of the spring in a way that was unprecedented: faculty and student participants reported gravitating to that room during their leisure time to be with the other participants and to interact in the ways they had learned in the workshop.

Although participants' reactions were almost universally positive, others were less enthused about the workshop and its effects. Some faculty members, dubious at the outset, remained skeptical about the value of sensitivity training and concerned about the possibilities of damage to participants. Others who wanted to participate but who were excluded because of the space limitation were disappointed and in some cases unsure that the exclusion had really been random. Both these groups were less than overjoyed by the participants' behavior after the workshop, particularly when it disturbed other parts of the school or emphasized the exclusiveness of the new "community".

The reaction of parents and alumni was also mixed. Several parents sent anti-sensitivity training literature, published by groups like the John Birch Society, to students and faculty. At least one mother called the school to discuss the labs with a non-participant faculty member, and later visited the school to discuss her concern with the headmaster.

To put it succinctly, the laboratory workshop was described as "a howling success" by participants, while the rest of the school was divided about its utility. Since the seniors were all graduating and only twenty percent of the faculty participated, founding further work on the momentum generated by the workshops alone posed a ticklish problem.

We had discussed the possibility of a continuing work relationship between the Administrative Science Department and Gaigt with the headmaster in our first conversations, and we had agreed to discuss the possibility further after the workshop when more information about the utility of such a relationship would be available. After the end of the school year we met with the Gaigt Educational Policy Committee, composed of the headmaster, senior faculty, and administrators, to discuss further work.

At that meeting, we discussed the positive and negative outcomes of the workshop. As the mix of reactions became clearer, the question of future work together was raised. The headmaster summarized the views of a recent meeting of the executive committee of the faculty (department heads) as follows:

. . . in the discussion of what should be the shape of the spring term for next year for seniors, one thing that seemed to come out fairly strongly from these department heads. . . was how can we work in sensitivity training. . . . I think there was a fairly strong feeling that this was something we definitely wanted to do. . . .

In the conversation that followed, it became clear that the headmaster wanted to do more sensitivity training, but that sentiments were more mixed among the rest of the faculty -- particularly those who had not participated in the May workshop.

We proposed an organizational diagnosis rather than further T-groups, on the grounds that effective social system change must be based on a thorough understanding of the system rather than indiscriminate use of a single tool like T-groups. We were not willing to do more T-groups without a prior systematic diagnosis, though we offered to help them find other qualified trainers if they decided against a diagnosis. After some discussion to clarify what we might do in a diagnosis, we adjourned the meeting

to let them decide whether they wanted an organizational diagnosis before deciding about further interventions with the time lapse that would entail.

A few weeks later we were notified that the committee wanted us to begin an organizational diagnosis the following fall. We were told, more than a year later, that our resistance to the headmaster's pressure for immediate further workshops had been critical; had we agreed to that proposal, the skeptical wing of the faculty would have strongly resisted continuing the relationship either out of fear of T-groups or out of a perception of us as agents of the headmaster.

In the fall of 1969, we spent one day with the faculty in their opening orientation meetings. After the headmaster introduced us, and briefly recounted the preceding spring's discussions with the Committee on Educational Policy, we made a presentation to the faculty of the diagnosis proposal. After this presentation, the faculty was asked to form five small groups to respond to the diagnosis proposal. We joined two of those five groups as observers. Although the faculty expressed some doubt about whether they had a choice about proceeding, they did engage in thorough and emotional interaction about the proposal. One faculty member even suggested quite vehemently that one of us had to leave before he could discuss the matter. During the day the faculty energetically scrutinized the proposal and ultimately decided to go along with it, but not without expressing considerable ambivalence about the activity.

Several weeks later we spoke to the student body as a whole about the proposal, and invited those interested in participating in the diagnostic project to join a Liaison Committee of Gaith faculty and students who would advise the researcher-consultants on the development of questionnaires and interviews. We encouraged both those who were favorable and those who were skeptical to join this committee. We later reaped the consequences of

both students and faculty taking our request seriously.

IV. OVERVIEW: THE GAIGHT-YALE PROJECT

The relationship between Gaight and the Yale Department of Administrative Science has now finished its fourth year. Table III-1 provides a chronological summary of events categorized as contract negotiations/ miscellaneous, data collection, or intervention activities. These events will be treated in more detail in subsequent chapters, but are presented now to provide a brief overview of the flow of the project.

Insert Table II-1 here

The development of the project can be divided into phases roughly separated by contract negotiations. As described earlier in this chapter, the entry and contract-setting phase of this project began in the Spring of 1969, with the senior workshop and the contract negotiations for an organizational diagnosis with the Committee on Educational Policy, and continued with discussions at the fall faculty orientation meetings the next September and the description of our intentions and expectations to the student-body shortly afterwards.

We then proceeded to a data collection and diagnosis phase that lasted for the rest of the school year, during which we interviewed school members, administered questionnaires, presented preliminary data and implications at feedback meetings with students and faculty, and ultimately wrote a report on our findings which we presented to the headmaster and the faculty in June, 1970.

We renegotiated our relationship with the school at the initial faculty meetings in the fall of 1970 and moved to an action-taking phase. The

Table II-1

Outline of Events

Time	Contract Negotiation/ Miscellaneous	Data Collection	Intervention
<u>1969</u>			
March	First contact: Faculty Committee discusses lab	Lab design Meetings	Faculty-Seniors Lab Workshop
May			
June	Diagnosis contract Negotiations		
<u>1969-1970</u>			
September	Consultants at faculty orientation and student assembly	Time Series Questionnaire	
October		Start Interviews	
November	Liaison Committee formed	Long Questionnaire Interviews	
December		Time Series Questionnaire	
January			Preliminary diagno- sis to Liaison and Policy Committees
February		Time Series Questionnaire	Recommendations to Liaison and Policy Committees
March		Time Series Questionnaire	First Feedback Meeting
April		Time Series Questionnaire	Second Feedback Meeting; Faculty Forum Feedback
May		Prefect Interviews	Third feedback Meeting
June			Organizational Diagnosis Report submitted

Table II-1, B

<u>Time</u>	<u>Contract Negotiation/ Miscellaneous</u>	<u>Data Collection</u>	<u>Intervention</u>
<u>1970-1971</u>			
September	Report Discussions; Intervention Contract		Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
October	Prefect Meetings		Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
November		Time Series Questionnaire	Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
December			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
January			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
February		Time Series Questionnaire	Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
March			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
April			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
May			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
June	Contract Discussions (preliminary)		Co-Ed Day Headmaster/Change Agent Discussions
<u>1971-1972</u>			
September	Contract discussions with faculty	Assessment Com- mittee formed	
October			Prefect Workshop; Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
November	Assessment Committee	Time Series, Cri- tical Incidents Questionnaires	Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
December			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting

Table II-1, C

Time	Contract Negotiation/ Miscellaneous	Data Collection	Intervention
<u>1971-1972</u> (cont'd.)			
January			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
February			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting Girls' Dorm Meetings
March			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
April			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
May		Prefect Interviews	Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
June	Contract Re-negotiation discussions	Headmaster Succes- sion Interviews	
<u>1972-1973</u>			
September			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting Corridor Team Training
October		Transition Interview	Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
November			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
December			
January		Transition Interview Assessment Committee Interview	Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
February		Prefect Interviews	Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting
March			
April			Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting; Feedback to Prefects
May			
June		Reflections on Year; Headmaster/Change Agents	Headmaster/Change Agent Consulting

recommendations with which we concluded our report were discussed and accepted by the faculty at those meetings. During the 1970-71 school year we consulted the headmaster on decision-making, and with the internal change agents (whose appointment we had recommended) on their activities with students. A workshop with student prefects, proposed in the report and supported by the faculty, was not held because of prefect mistrust. At the end of the school year, we designed and staffed a "Coed-Day" to discuss the implications of co-education planned to begin the following fall.

The research aspects of the project have made evaluation a continuing effort. In addition, reservations about our activities among the faculty led to the establishment of a faculty Assessment Committee the following fall, charged with evaluation of the work of the project to date. During its deliberations, a previously scheduled workshop for prefects and corridor masters was held, and the monthly consultation with the headmaster and the internal change agents continued. The Assessment Committee reported favorably, and work continued. During the winter of 1972, meetings to deal with problems in the women's dormitories took place with consultant help, and in the spring further interviews of the monitors and interviews with the old and new headmasters around the issues of succession of the assistant headmaster were undertaken.

The pattern of phases that emerge from Table III-1 is reflected in the organization of this book. This chapter concludes Part I, which dealt primarily with the issues of context setting and entry. Part II will treat data collection and diagnosis; Part III will discuss intervention in the system; Part IV will deal with evaluations of our impact and our conclusions.

Chapter Three

DATA COLLECTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The data collection processes which we used in this study were derived from two related objectives: (1) to conduct an organizational diagnosis, and (2) to generate and test hypotheses. In pursuing these joint objectives we hoped that the two goals could be merged synergistically and that we possessed the knowledge, skill, and experience to effect such an amalgamation. This chapter presents an account of our research methods and the "organizational logic" we used in implementing them. At one level, the material consists of a set of heuristics for obtaining information about organizational life. At another level, it represents a rudimentary "theory of method" for doing field organizational research.

Most research reports contain a methodology section. The present chapter is that section for this study. In brief, we employed participant observation, survey, and field experimental designs and obtained data from tape recordings, field notes, fixed alternative questionnaires, semi-structured individual and group interviews, and school archives. Some of these data were analyzed clinically; others were treated statistically; for some topics it was possible to bring together both kinds of analyses. While it is clear that we used most of the traditional tools of social science relevant for field studies of organizations, it is also true that the usual way of describing research methods is a seriously inadequate account of how and why we acted as we did in this project.

Most research methods books in social psychology have not been written to emphasize systematically relating instrumentation to the phenomena under study, but we believe that this is a significant omission--especially in the field of organization studies. Webb et al (1966) have noted that some

instruments in physics (e.g., the galvanometer) embody both theoretical propositions and classical tests of those ideas, while in the social sciences fewer methods are designed to take account of the phenomena under study. Behavioral science investigators recognize that human beings can be profoundly affected by social science information that is collected about them. People are not passive recipients of influence on matters that deeply affect their lives (Rosenthal, 1966; Argyris, 1970; Kelman, 1972; Marton, 1972; and Lewicki and Alderfer, 1973). Since behavioral science researchers are not neutral figures in the lives of their respondents, their interpersonal, intergroup, and interorganizational relationships are likely to affect the data exchanged. The mutual influence of respondent and investigator on the data produced is the major theme of this chapter and will remain a critical issue throughout the book. It is a problematic issue about which we learned significant things both clinically and statistically.

Objective 1: Organizational Diagnosis. Much of the vast literature in organizational behavior has not been oriented toward collecting data which might be of use to system where it was obtained. When researchers provide feedback at all it is often more from a sense of obligation than from a desire to serve, and clients are often quietly pleased to "file" the report and blame the researcher for lack of utilization. In the clinically oriented sciences it is recognized that there is often a conflict between science and service (Argyris, 1970; Newton and Levinson, 1973). Some resources (e.g., money and time) devoted to one goal cannot be used for the other. Human beings have notoriously mixed feelings about self study. The desire to know often combines with the fear of finding out in a way that lets fear dominate (Maslow, 1966).

If behavioral science data is used for organizational diagnosis, then

a second phase of data collection may also develop. Should the diagnosis turn up soluble problems, it is natural to return at some future time to see whether change has occurred. The ambivalence that appears about diagnosis is likely to reappear when the time comes to evaluate the effects of a change program. Theory and methods relevant to one phase in the process should apply to the other.

Objective 2: Hypothesis generation and testing. Scholars from a number of different intellectual traditions (i.e., sociology, social psychology, and applied behavioral science) have presented theoretical statements about organizational behavior which use concepts from open systems theory (Buckley, 1967; Katz and Kahn, 1966; and Miller and Rice, 1967). Open systems theory has been useful for organization studies because it offers a set of comprehensive ideas for understanding the multi-dimensional features of organizational life. While the theory presents both general concepts and propositions for relating these concepts (e.g., Miller, 1965; Alderfer, 1974), it has been far less adequate in offering language for linking the theoretical ideas to concrete operational indicators of either a clinical or statistical kind. The broad general theory is in need of "middle range" statements which make its propositions more empirically testable.

From this point onward the chapter will be divided into two major sections. Section I presents our approach to data collection in a form that relates the use of traditional methodological tools with assumptions about what it takes to learn about organizational life. Section II reports the results of three methodological studies which attempt to show how a researcher-consultant's stance toward learning may influence the nature of the data he collects.

I. APPROACHES TO DATA COLLECTION

A. Group and Organizational Relationships

The social sciences have seriously under applied their knowledge in the area of methodological strategy. How much of what we know about organizations is employed to study human systems? To what extent does the methodology employed in organizational research reflect what organizational life is like? Our answers to these questions are that very little about organizations is used to design methods for increasing knowledge; rarely do researchers develop methods which reflect and cope with the on-going nature of organizational life. In the present study we did attempt to develop the methods consistent with our understanding of organizational life.

In general we paid a great deal of attention to the development of mutually trusting human relationships throughout the system. Organizations consist of one or more authority structures, include several key groups, and contain many conflicting views. We attempted to legitimize our presence and mission throughout the various authority systems, gain entry with each key group, and insure representation to all opinions in important decisions. We also attempted to make negotiations public whenever possible, and make documents available to interested and relevant parties.

This organization consisted of three critical groups (administrators, faculty and students) and consequently had three authority structures, not of equal power. The headmaster and his immediate subordinates held the most power. Without the initial interest and continuing support of the headmaster the project would neither have started nor lasted very long. To develop and maintain this support we made efforts to respond noncollusively to administrative needs and to maintain an open and direct relationship with key administrators in the system. Like most top executives, the

headmaster was a controversial figure in the system. His support was essential for the project to continue, but forming an exclusive alliance with him, no matter how free of manipulation, endangered the possibilities of learning about other areas of school life.

On the academic side of life at the school the faculty were the next most powerful group. At crucial parts in negotiating our research and consultation relationship with the school, we worked with a standing faculty committee on educational policy. They played a key role in our initial entry, and they received some of the first feedback of data from the study. Despite our efforts to develop relationships with faculty groups they remained the least generally accessible segment of the school throughout our relationship. Even though the faculty as a whole never really welcomed us or committee themselves to the project, there were a number of notable exceptions. Except for negotiations through standing committees and meetings designed specifically for project reports, faculty participated by volunteering for specially formed committees. Some faculty periodically gave of their time for these committees.

The longer we stayed in the school, the more convinced we became that the students themselves determined a great deal of their own experience. They set their own norms, and influenced each other in direct and indirect ways. We worked with some student groups, and when special groups were formed in connection with the project, student volunteers played central roles.

As time passed, special groups and pairings were formed to carry out specific tasks. A Liaison Committee, composed of volunteer student and faculty members, was formed to help with the diagnostic phase of the study. Doubtful or pessimistic students and faculty were encouraged to join the group. The group critiqued and pre-tested the diagnostic instruments,

providing many useful suggestions about the content and format of the questionnaires. Members of the group also received early feedback, and became members of intervention teams who fed the diagnostic information back to the entire school community.

When the transition was made from diagnosis to action an intervention team of faculty-administrators was formed. Role-wise these men consisted of the assistant headmaster and the chaplain. They were proposed for these roles because of their abilities and demonstrated interest in the project, but the symbolism of their existing roles was relevant too. The assistant headmaster was second in command at the school, and so represented high level support for the change activities and access to major school resources. The chaplain's role symbolized respect and support for humane values.

Finally, when it came time to evaluate the project a group of volunteers from the faculty met to review the project and recommend to the headmaster whether activities should continue. This group was commissioned by the headmaster and formed of volunteers who reviewed the various documents produced during the study and interviewed key figures in the change process. As a result of their efforts an evaluation of the several years' work was achieved and a history of project was communicated to the entire school.

Thus throughout the history of the project we made extensive use of group methods to achieve entry, continuity, and evaluation of our work. Roughly speaking there were two approaches to group relations. One involved working through existing groups and their leaders, and the other consisted of forming new groups to help with critical facets of the on-going relationship of researcher-consultants to the organization.

B. Functions of Time

There is no vast literature of time series studies in organizational

behavior, yet it is probably safe to assume that time is one of the more critical variables in understanding organizational life. There may be several reasons why there are no more time series data on the human side of organizational life. It takes a high degree of skill to maintain on-going relations between functioning day-to-day organizations and analytically oriented researchers. Conflict is inevitable in such an alliance, and the long-term viability of the relationship depends on the capacities of the parties to resolve conflicts in ways that provide for the needs of all.

While a commitment to relationship building is essential for developing long-term researcher-organizational relationships, a viable long-term relationship also tends to support itself. We frequently found that some individuals who resisted and fought with us initially later changed their minds and behavior. Some even sought out ways to contribute to the project. One faculty member who was an extraordinarily vocal opponent of our entry and of data feedback later sought out the investigators to explain how he had grown and changed during his years at the school. A long-term relationship provides the investigators with an opportunity to learn later things that initially were not accessible to them because of the fears and anxieties of organization members.

For all of its value in maintaining a research relationship and for aiding access to threatening information, time is also critical for analytical purposes. Time series data lends itself to quasi-experimental designs. The possibility of ruling out alternative causal explanations for organizational phenomena increases if one is able to effect time series or multiple-time series quasi-experiments (Campbell and Stanley, 1963). Another value of observing a system over time is that it allows one to discover recurrent patterns in the life cycle of the institution. In the present study we were able to identify such a pattern as the "normal"

school year progressed. Beyond the internal workings of a system which tend to repeat themselves periodically are external (or environmental) conditions of the organization which may change dramatically. In the present study, for example, the state in which the Gaight School is located changed the legal age for alcohol purchase from 21 to 18 years, and an increase in the use of alcohol by students in the school was observed.

Our initial design called for bi-monthly data collection, but this procedure was more reactive than we had anticipated. Members of the organization were unwilling to support the design for more than one year. We were, however, able to collect data at least once each year over the course of the project.

The long-term relationship, coupled with research, also provided unique learning opportunities about planned change. By staying with the system over an extended period of time we were able to observe the longer term consequences of interventions and to "try again" when initial efforts did not seem to achieve their objectives. In one case (see Chapter Six) study over three years was essential for learning how to intervene effectively to help student leaders and dormitory faculty work together.

C. Cycles of experience and cognition

One kind of logic we employed throughout the project is "analysis of microcosms". This is an iterative method of: (1) observing events that impinge on the investigators, (2) looking for ways to conceptualise these phenomena, and (3) using the emergent "micro-theory" to predict broader and more inclusive events. One such event occurred at our initial entry. The research team was introduced to the faculty at the fall orientation meetings and joined as observers small groups of faculty composed to discuss the research project and other issues pertinent to the opening of school.

Within the first 90 seconds of one small group meeting, a faculty member pointed to a researcher and announced to the group, "Either he goes or I go." The researcher replied that he hoped there were more alternatives than those two, but he would leave if the group wished. This opened up an excited discussion among that group and resulted in both parties remaining in the meeting. Eventually the group raised many questions with the headmaster about how authority was used in the school. This group ultimately proposed a new institution, called the Faculty Forum, which became an arena in which faculty members might formulate their concerns about school life. During the year the Faculty Forum met energetically until the winter term when apathy set in.

Much of what we later came to identify as characteristic of the social system of the school was present in these opening events. There was a stormy and conflictful relationship between the research team and certain members of the faculty throughout the project. The more vocal of our critics used public meetings to voice their concerns. It was common for our most angry opponents to be people who were having difficulties with the headmaster; in large group meetings we seemed to become stand-in authority figures for the headmaster.

New groups formed concurrently with our activities. They tended to be concerned with the quality of life in the school. As the school year passed apathy and alienation increased; it was common for activities (such as the Faculty Forum) begun in the fall to falter as the oppressive winter term set in. Our willingness to publicly discuss objections to our presence helped to maintain our relationship with the system without driving critics underground.

D. Data from Multiply Methods

As behavioral scientists we came to the project prepared to use a wide

range of data collection procedures. Foremost at any time was unstructured observation. In dealings with members of the school we attempted to watch and listen carefully. In this sense our data collection began before we knew that there would be a durable research project. When members of the faculty approached us to help plan a special education program for graduating members of the school in the spring of 1969, we attempted to learn all we could about the school in order to plan that program. These data were not lost when the project moved into a research-diagnostic phase. We listened carefully to what people told us about the school and we also attempted to discern how they talked to us and to each other.

As the diagnosis progressed our methods of data collection became more structured, and we moved toward influencing the settings in which data were collected. As we began to do systematic research we introduced a tape-recorder into any proceedings we attended. We would explain that we were researchers who might (initially, then later this verb turned to were) write a book. We guaranteed that the material collected would be treated confidentially and that anyone who wished and was present might listen to the tapes. There were a number of times when our request to use the tape recorder was turned down, but by and large people did not object. It became an accepted fact that where we went there would be a tape-recording of the session. The outward acceptance of this, however, did not lead us to stop checking for permission in any setting where we appeared. There were always some signs of discomfort about the machine, as people joked with us about how the material would be used. We cannot be sure to what degree the presence of our machine altered the phenomena that was being recorded. Our assumption was that any reactive changes produced by us and the machine were not substantial, but this remains untested.

The next step toward greater structure in the data collection was to

develop semi-structured interviews to be carried out individually and in groups with a sample of the entire school. Unstructured observations and conversations led us to hypotheses about what issues were most significant for understanding life at the school. Semi-structured interviews were then designed to explore these issues in depth and to provide opportunities to discover issues that had not yet come to our attention. (See Appendix A for a copy of the interview.)

After the interviews a relatively structured questionnaire was administered to the entire school. The interviews and observations had generated so much material that in consultation with the Liaison Committee we decided to develop two questionnaires rather than one. In one questionnaire there was a series of twelve items that had been administered to the entire system prior to the opening of school. This Time Series Questionnaire (TSQ) was a key tool for understanding the time effects of being in the system. Use of the TSQ prior to the opening of school marked the one departure from our overall trend of moving from less to more structure in the instruments as our knowledge of the system became greater. (See Appendix B for a copy of the questionnaires.)

Data collection did not stop with the completion of the diagnostic phase of the study, but the nature of our stance toward the respondents and their information did. Throughout the diagnostic phase of the study our stance toward the data was one of discovery; we wanted to find out what life at the school was like. The relationships we attempted to create with members of the system reflected this orientation. In one form or other we said, "You are the experts on this system, please tell us what living and working here is like." As we collected more data our own feelings about being naive outsiders changed, and we began to develop a point of view about the system. Data feedback brought different qualities

to our relationship with the system. We were no longer just asking questions and listening. Now we began to make statements to which members of the system might respond. As we moved from diagnosis to feedback and intervention, our relationship to the system became more "two-way", and we moved closer to being inside the organization.

Concurrent with this change in relationship was also a change in the research task: the advent of feedback and intervention placed us much more in a verification mode. During feedback we wanted to discuss the adequacy of our diagnosis with members of the school. We asked them to confirm or disconfirm our data and interpretations and to suggest alternative explanations. Intervention took the process of verification a step further. If our data were valid, if our theory was useful, and if our values were shared, the outcomes of the interventions should be the desired changes. To the degree that the changes occurred, they verified the preceding steps. To the extent that the changes did not go as expected, the bases on which they were planned came into question.

Data collection did not stop during the action phase of the project. The shift from diagnosis to intervention included a change from a general look at the social system to a more specific look at certain problems. In one case this change meant that a new set of semi-structured interviews had to be designed. (See Appendix C for those interview schedules.) Data were also collected to understand and evaluate the processes and outcomes of interventions. (See Appendices E and F for these documents.)

Groups in the school varied in the degree to which they participated in the study and in the kind of data they provided. Initially we were unsure about who was and was not a part of the system we were studying. The directress of the cafeteria was interviewed, for example, but we never developed an extensive understanding of her portion of the school. Faculty

wives were also interviewed, but with the exception of an examination of coeducation, they did not become central to our investigation. After initial exploration we decided to focus on administration, faculty, and students. Having made that decision, we found faculty members were often reluctant to complete questionnaires. With the exception of the long questionnaires administered in November 1969, questionnaire data are reported without responses from faculty members.

Faculty members were not enthusiastic about the idea of the study in general. Despite this, their willingness to become involved on an interview basis changed with time, and when corridor life was the focus of research and action, they actually sought involvement. So while there is no comprehensive data on faculty members' reactions to the system as a whole, they did contribute to some facets of the study.

Our data collection proceeded in phases which reflected growing understanding of the school. We became increasingly aware of "cycles" in school life. Another form of verification enabled by staying with the system over several years was the exploration of recurrent organizational patterns.

In summary, the research methods included approaches drawn directly from traditional texts on questionnaires, statistics, and research design. Blended with these approaches were such processes as group formation, relationship building, and data feedback. As researchers outside the system, we sought a blend of traditional social science data collection technology and experiential knowledge about organizational behavior.

II. METHODOLOGICAL STUDIES

The basic thrust of our methodological orientation is to examine the interaction of traditional research methods and the human system in which

they are employed. In Section I we attempted to specify the assumptions affecting our choices we made about data collection in the Gaight School. In Section II we shall present the results of three sub-studies which show the relationship between research data and the organizational conditions of the respondents.

A. Study 1: An Empathic Questionnaire¹

After the semi-structured interviews had been completed we designed a questionnaire to be administered to the entire school community. The Liaison Committee showed that there were too many questions for a single instrument, so two questionnaires were employed, each being given to one-half of the community.

A questionnaire, in attempting to elicit information from a respondent about his organization, provides him with information about the researcher. It tells the respondent what the researcher thinks is important and may reveal some of what he already knows about the organization. If the questionnaire asks questions that seem irrelevant to the personal experience of the respondent, the psychological distance between respondent and researcher may be increased. If, on the other hand, the questions seem relevant, that distance may be decreased. The degree to which a respondent feels free to reveal threatening information about himself or his organization may turn in part on the extent to which the research instrument appears to be in tune with his experience.

We hypothesized that a questionnaire designed to demonstrate the researchers' awareness of critical events in the respondents' own organization would elicit more threatening information than one based on items

¹From C. P. Alderfer and L. D. Brown, "Designing an Empathic Questionnaire for Organizational Research," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1972, 56, 456-60.

that could apply to any system and would therefore seem highly impersonal (Rogers, 1959).

The results from an Event-Based and a Theory-Based questionnaire were compared. The Event-Based questionnaire consisted of several sections that asked questions about both the respondents and their perceptions of the school. The questions asked made it clear that the authors were well acquainted with important aspects of life in the school. The Theory-Based questionnaire also contained several sections that explored respondents' perceptions of themselves and the school. The questions asked, however, were generated by theoretical formulations about organizational life rather than information about the school, and did not demonstrate any particular knowledge of the school per se on the part of the researchers. Both questionnaires contained both fixed-alternative and open-ended questions. Results from semi-structured interviews provided the information used to design the Event-Based questionnaire. They also provided an opportunity to identify a threatening phenomenon which could be used as the dependent variable in this study.

The subject of sarcasm in the school proved to be both controversial and painful to those who discussed it. People explained that it was common for their interactions with other people to be both highly charged emotionally and highly ambiguous. Such a statement, for example, would be "You're brilliant!" The object of this statement would be caught in the bind of hearing complimentary content and derogatory tone.

We learned of sarcasm from students who felt they had been hurt by it. Respondents at first frequently denied that sarcasm was harmful; some even indicated it was a sign of intellectual manliness. Most ultimately agreed that they had been hurt at some time by sarcasm, and had hurt others in turn.

At the end of both the Event-Based and the Theory-Based questionnaires were a number of fixed-alternative questions about the prevalence and characteristics of sarcasm as a mode of interaction. To encourage respondents to address the harmful aspects of sarcasm, the title of this section was "Cutting People Down", and the instructions for the part were:

The subject of 'cutting people down' has been mentioned several times during interviews. Would you give your perceptions on this subject by answering the following questions.

At no place in either questionnaire was sarcasm mentioned prior to the questions at the end.

If there were systematic differences between the two questionnaires in terms of their impact on respondents, we would expect the common questions about sarcasm to reflect them. Specifically, we expected the Event-Based questionnaire to show higher levels of sarcasm than the Theory-Based questionnaire.

Questionnaires were administered to students and faculty during a class period set aside for the purpose. Both questionnaires took approximately one hour to answer, and they were passed out in such a way that every other person got the same questionnaire. This procedure insured that each class answered approximately equal numbers of the two questionnaires, and that the two questionnaires were matched in distribution through each class.

Two general tactics were employed in analyzing the data. First, the sarcasm items were factor analyzed to see if their internal stability varied with the questionnaire conditions in which they were employed. All items were intercorrelated and factor analyzed according to the principle components method. All factors with eigen values greater than one were rotated according to the varimax procedure. Second, based on the results of the factor analyses, those items which showed stability across conditions were given unit weights and summed scales were formed. The means of these

scales were then compared between conditions for both student and faculty groups. The items that did not show stability across conditions are indicated by asterisks in Table 1.

One item about the general level of sarcasm was not included in the factor analysis. It asked for a rating of how much sarcasm there was and was used as a criterion against which the more specific scales could be examined.

Table 3-1 contains the results of factor analyzing the explanatory items for the Theory-Based and Event-Based questionnaires. These results show four interpretable factors. Factor I consists of items indicating that "students are sarcastic to me" both face to face and behind my back. Factor II consists of items pertaining to "faculty members are sarcastic to me" both directly and behind my back. Factor III pertains to being sarcastic to persons face-to-face. Factor IV deals with respondents being sarcastic to persons (both students and faculty) behind their backs. From these results it appears that when one is receiving sarcasm what matters is who gives it, while when one considers his role in giving sarcasm what matters is whether it is face to face or behind the back. With a few minor exceptions (noted by parentheses in Table 1) the factor loadings tend to be very similar for both questionnaires. There was little reason to think that the different questionnaire designs affected the factorial structure of the sarcasm items.

Insert Table 3-1 here.

Table 3-2 contains the mean values on each of the sarcasm scales for students and faculty on each type of questionnaire. The Event-Based questionnaire resulted in students reporting significantly more total sarcasm in the school than the Theory-Based questionnaire. Three of four explana-

Table 3-1

Factor Analysis of the Sarcasm Scales in the Event-Based
and the Theory-Based Questionnaires

	(n=189)				(n=203)			
	<u>Event-Based Questionnaire</u>				<u>Theory-Based Questionnaire</u>			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
Students are sarcastic to me.	<u>.83</u>	.08	-.20	-.15	<u>-.75</u>	.09	-.33	.11
Students ridicule me behind my back.	<u>.70</u>	.26	.12	-.27	<u>-.84</u>	.11	.15	.20
I am ridiculed by students in my presence.	<u>.84</u>	.18	-.14	-.21	<u>-.80</u>	.28	-.22	.10
I am laughed at by students in my presence.	<u>.73</u>	.20	-.18	-.25	<u>-.75</u>	.32	-.16	.06
I am ridiculed by faculty members in my presence.	.12	<u>.75</u>	-.24	-.19	-.21	<u>.78</u>	-.19	.03
I am laughed at by faculty members in my presence.	.09	<u>.75</u>	-.03	-.13	-.16	<u>.72</u>	.08	-.03
Faculty members are sarcastic to me.	.20	<u>.70</u>	-.33	-.08	-.15	<u>.67</u>	-.22	.34
Faculty members ridicule me behind my back.	.35	<u>.64</u>	.08	-.18	-.16	<u>.74</u>	.22	.34

Table 3-1 continued

	(n=189)				(n=203)			
	<u>Event-Based Questionnaire</u>				<u>Theory-Based Questionnaire</u>			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
* I ridicule faculty members in their presence.	.08	.34	<u>-.73</u>	<u>-.17</u>	-.15	(.66)	<u>(-.30)</u>	.12
I am sarcastic to faculty members in their presence.	.07	.22	<u>-.85</u>	<u>-.16</u>	-.08	.57	<u>-.55</u>	.17
I am sarcastic to students in their presence.	.25	-.03	<u>-.63</u>	<u>-.41</u>	-.14	-.05	<u>-.92</u>	.15
* I ridicule students in their presence.	.28	.18	<u>(-.31)</u>	<u>(-.55)</u>	-.27	.29	<u>-.53</u>	.27
I ridicule students behind their backs.	.27	.12	-.05	<u>-.79</u>	-.16	-.04	-.13	<u>.76</u>
I laugh at faculty members behind their backs.	.14	.29	-.28	<u>-.71</u>	.07	.24	<u>-.14</u>	<u>.77</u>
I ridicule faculty members behind their backs.	.13	.32	-.23	<u>-.73</u>	-.12	.25	-.31	<u>.66</u>
I laugh at students behind their backs.	.23	.29	-.10	<u>-.83</u>	-.24	.03	.00	<u>.84</u>

tory scales showed the faculty reporting significantly more sarcasm on the Event-Based questionnaire than on the Theory-Based questionnaire. On three of four explanatory scales students' responses showed a similar tendency although none of these differences was statistically significant. These results are generally consistent with our working hypothesis that the more empathic Event-Based questionnaire would lead respondents to acknowledge a greater prevalence of a threatening phenomena, sarcasm.

If one compares groups across the columns of Table 2, the results also tell us that sarcasm was probably initiated and received more by students than by faculty. The students saw significantly more sarcasm in the system than the faculty did ($p < .01$). The students also reported that they received significantly more sarcasm from students, gave more fact to face, and gave more behind backs than the faculty did ($p < .05$). The highest correlation between perceived amount of sarcasm in the system and the explanatory scales was with the "students to me" measure ($r = .38, p < .01$), which further supports the hypothesis that sarcasm is more a student than a faculty phenomenon. Sarcasm might be related to the maturity level of the students, to their plight in the organization, or to both.

 Insert Table 3-2 here.

The results of the study suggest that the questionnaire design did have an impact on the respondents' willingness to provide threatening material. The effects were somewhat complicated by the differences between students and faculty, but both groups presented more negative data about the incidence of sarcasm in response to the Event-Based questionnaire.

The differences between student and faculty responses may be a result in part of the differences in their experience: the faculty members probably

Table 3-2
Mean Values on Sarcasm Scales

<u>Scale</u>	<u>Instrument</u>	<u>Students</u> (n = 181, 173)			<u>Faculty</u> (n = 22, 16)		
		Mean	S.D.	t	Mean	S.D.	t
Amount	Event	4.32	.83	2.04*	3.69	.48	n.s.
	Theory	4.14	.84		3.64	.90	
Students to me	Event	11.24	3.18	n.s.	9.56	3.26	2.16*
	Theory	11.08	2.89		7.64	2.24	
Faculty to me	Event	6.69	2.12	n.s.	7.69	3.75	1.70
	Theory	6.67	2.38		5.91	2.18	
In presence	Event	5.05	1.57	n.s.	5.06	1.44	2.59*
	Theory	4.89	1.65		3.86	1.39	
Behind backs	Event	10.27	2.88	n.s.	10.00	3.45	3.47**
	Theory	10.37	3.09		6.77	2.29	

* p < .05 (2 tailed test)

** p < .01 (2 tailed test)

received and gave less sarcastic comment than the students. The difference could also be in part a function of their different formal roles: the faculty may feel that a high level of sarcasm reflects on their competence, and so resist describing the level as high on either questionnaire.

We may speculate that the combination of formal role and experience determines which aspect of the sarcasm measures are affected by the questionnaire design. Students experience more sarcasm but are responsible only for their own behavior. It would seem that the description of a system-wide phenomenon which "everybody does" would be less threatening to them than a direct acknowledgement of their own contribution to the problem. The faculty, on the other hand, are responsible for the total system, and they themselves engage in less sarcastic behavior. It would seem easier for them to acknowledge more of their own contribution while remaining reluctant to perceive the systemic problem.

We are suggesting that the Event-Based questionnaire resulted in some greater openness on the part of student and faculty respondents, but both seemed to hold back on the more threatening elements of their experience.

It could also be argued that the Event-Based questionnaire encouraged respondents to exaggerate the problems of the organization, and give more threatening information than was valid. Without taking measures of sarcastic behavior one would not be able to tell whether the perceptual measures reflected behavioral reality. A person's perception has its own reality, however, and we would argue that when one's goal is to understand social systems, the information that is more difficult to obtain is that which threatens the system's members. Designing a questionnaire to decrease the psychological distance between researchers and respondents seems to be one way of acquiring such threatening information.

B. Study 2: Reliability and System Inclusion

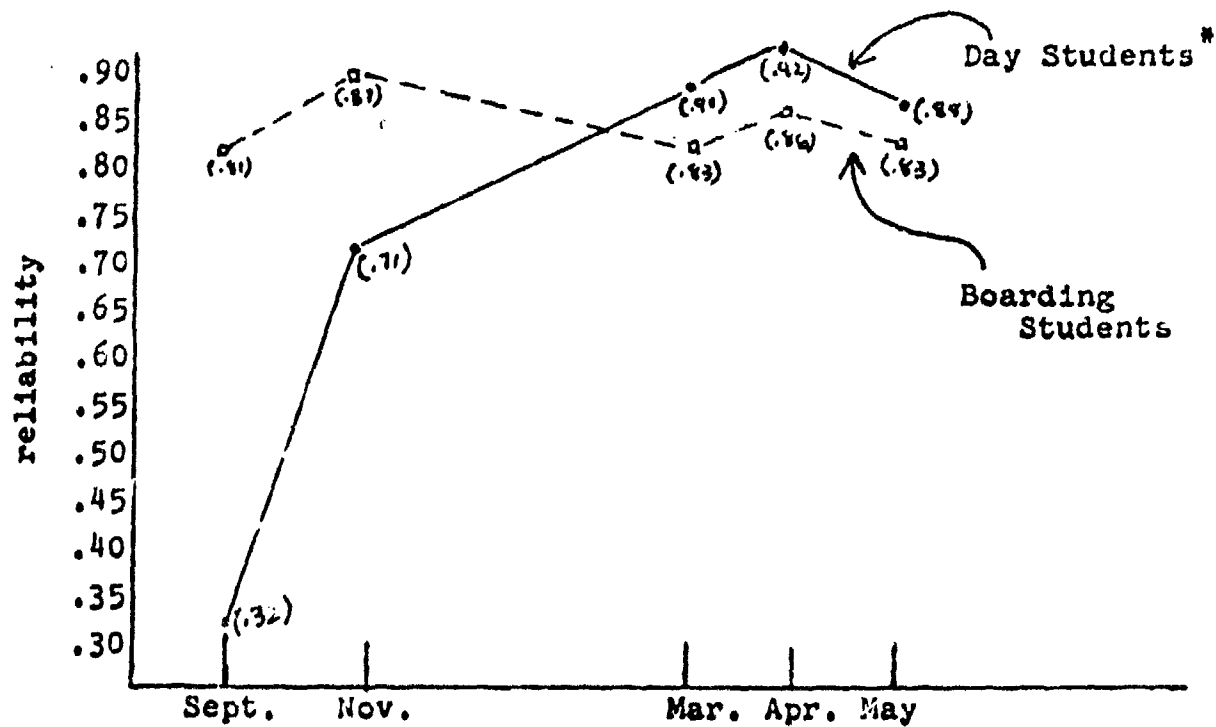
During the 1969-70 academic year we used the Time Series Questionnaire to measure some effects of being in the school. The purpose of collecting such time series information was to see what the effect of being in the system was on certain substantive variables measured by the questionnaire. For methodological purposes, it was of interest to examine not only what happened to the substantive variables but also what became of the measurement properties of the instruments.

Measures of overall satisfaction and involvement were employed, and the internal consistency reliability was computed for each point during the school year. We expected the reliability to vary in relation to respondent inclusion in the system. System inclusion is in part a function of time. At the beginning and end of the school year system members tend to be less included. As the temporal boundaries of the school year become more distant, inclusion increases. Two other indicators of system inclusion were also employed. Day students were less fully included in the system than boarding students, and first year students were less central than fourth year students. Figures 3-1 and 3-2 show how Spearman-Brown reliability varied as a function of time during the academic year for day and boarding students and for first and fourth year students.

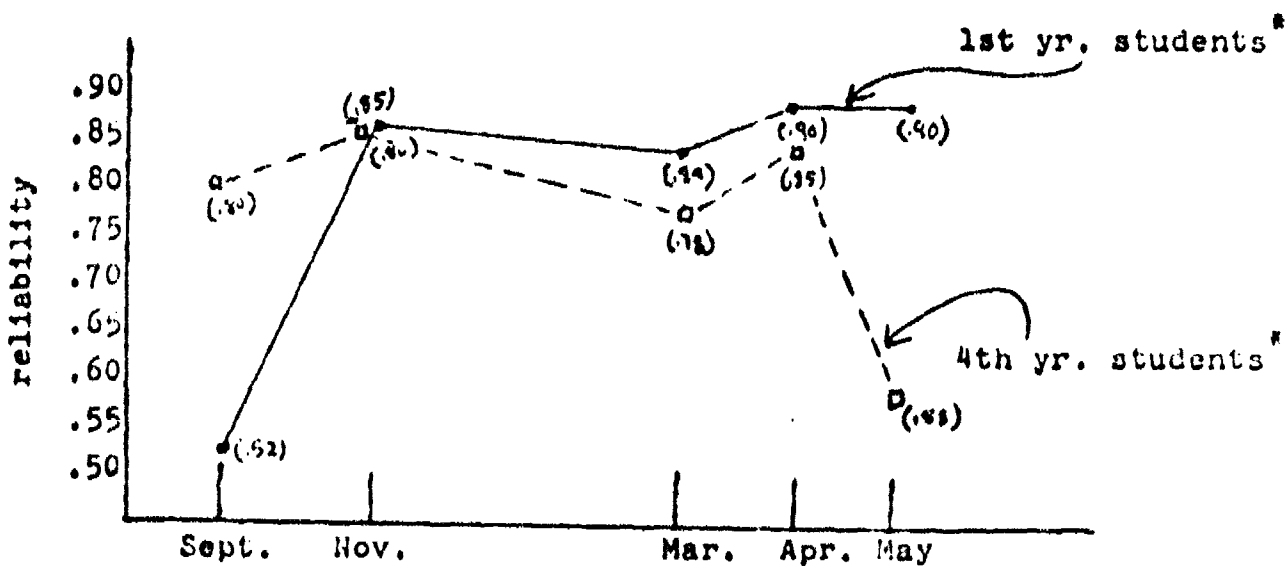
 Insert Figures 3-1 and 3-2 about here.

Statistical tests among the various reliability estimates were computed by taking the average product moment correlation among the three items in each scale by z transformation and then testing the difference among these average correlations by the usual procedures (McNemar, 1962). Two tailed tests were employed throughout because the direction of the differences had not been predicted in advance.

Figure 3-1
SATISFACTION RELIABILITY AS A FUNCTION OF TIME DURING YEAR



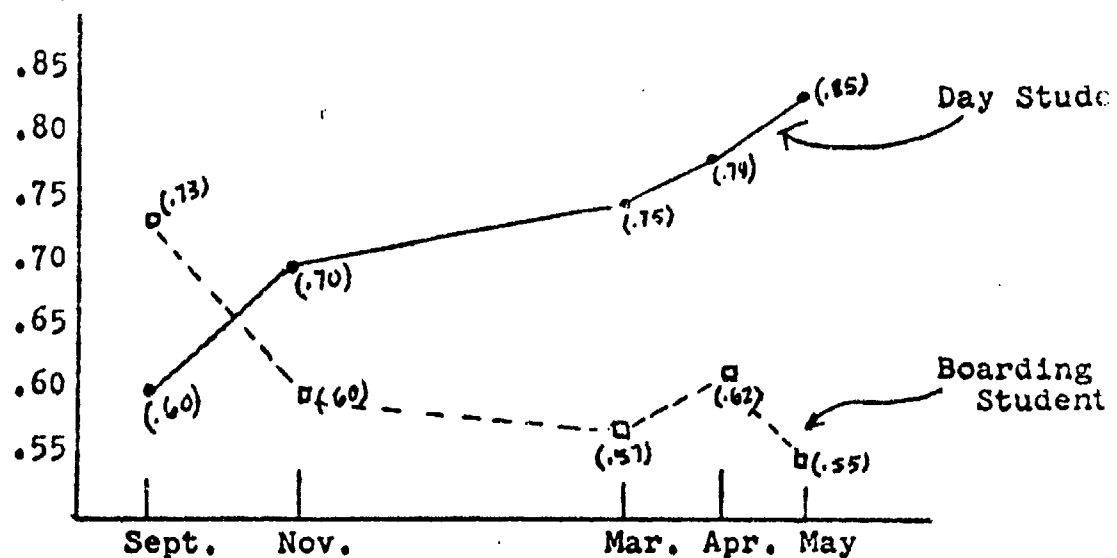
* Difference between Sept. and May, $p < .07$ (2 tailed)



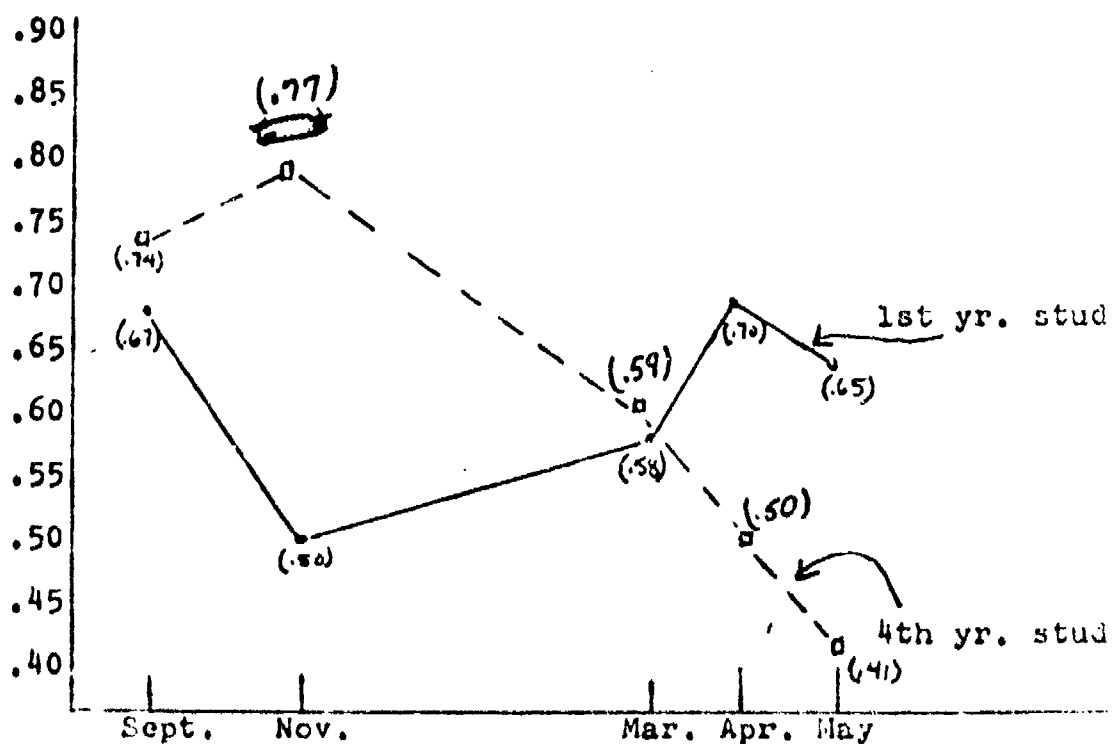
* Difference between Sept. and May, $p < .001$ (2 tailed)

** Difference between 1st and 4th year students in May, $p < .01$ (2 tailed)

Figure 3-2
INVOLVEMENT RELIABILITY AS A FUNCTION OF TIME DURING YEAR



** May difference between Day and Boarding Students
 $p < .04$ (2 tailed)



** Difference between Sept. and May, $p < .20$ (2 tai

The results suggest that reliability was a function of system inclusion. For the relatively uninvolved groups (i.e., day and first year students) reliability of the satisfaction scales increased as the school year progressed, and increased or remained the same on the involvement scales. For the more involved students (i.e., boarding and fourth year students) the opposite trend emerged. On satisfaction scales the more involved groups' reliability remained relatively constant or decreased as the school year progressed, while for the involvement scales reliability decreased as the year progressed. Although data from second and third year students were not presented in Figure 3-1 and 3-2, that information is consistent with the results shown. The reliability of the measures taken from second and third year students did not change very much as the school year progressed. There were small decreases in reliability over time, and the absolute level was lower for third year than for second year students.

Two interpretations of these results emerge. One pertains to the relationship between the person and the system, the other to the person himself. The measures we employed were acceptably reliable. But we are examining how another variable--degree of system inclusion--explains variation in otherwise internally consistent scales. Reliability may be interpreted to measure the degree of certainty an individual reports about his reactions.

There are both emotional and cognitive factors affecting a person's internal consistency reliability. These two classes of variables probably differ depending on whether a person is relatively near the beginning or end of his career in a system. Near the beginning of his time with an organization a person has less information about the system than he ever will in the future. He is aware of this and most often reluctant to offer "judgments" based on so little information. His preference is to withhold

assessment rather than risk being wrong or unfair.

On leaving a system different considerations apply. Rather than a shortage of information, there is potential for overload. So much has happened, so much has been observed, and so much has been determined that the departing member faces an information processing problem in trying to arrive at some integrated meaning of his experiences. In addition to the task of making cognitive sense of all the events, the individual must deal with the emotional problems inherent in leaving a significant institution in his life. Ambivalence is inevitable. There is bound to be some sense of relief and accomplishment in having "made it", but there is also inevitably unfinished business and some failure. How can a person arrive at a summary of his emotions as a time like this approaches--whether it be the end of a four year career or the end of a school year?

These entry and exit effects suggest that the point at which maximally reliable information is available lies somewhere after the entry effect decreases and before the exit effect begins. In this particular system that might be during the second year.

The results also identify a paradox and suggest a limitation in the use of fixed alternative questions that use linear models for analysis. Entry and exit are very important times for individuals in organizations. It is disconcerting to suspect that data about these times may be measured less reliably by traditional methods. Without information from other sources such as interviews and observations, we would not have a basis for explaining lower levels of reliability. But these other data, while richer and more complex than traditional attitude measures, are typically less precise. What is needed is more development of precise measurement techniques for cognitively complex and emotionally conflictful phenomena such as entering and leaving human systems.

C. Study 2: Inadvertent Instrument Recalibration

Our values and theoretical principles emphasize that attention paid to relationships between the investigators and the system being studied has multiple payoffs. Access to threatening information is facilitated; the possibility of maintaining the relationship over an extended period is increased; and the opportunity to engage in joint dialogue about data interpretation is enhanced. But these and other benefits do not imply that there are no potential costs from this approach. If one is committed to responding to the needs of respondents, one finds there are conflicts of interest from time to time. Not all that is good for the organization as the members perceive it will also be good for the research as the investigators wish to carry it out.

One area where we had difficulty in the present study was the use of the Time Series Questionnaire. The researchers felt it was not excessive to ask people to complete this instrument bi-monthly. The TSQ consisted of 20 items in fixed alternative format, and took about 10 minutes to complete. Students and faculty thought the instrument interfered with the educational process. They did not see how the data could be useful even after getting feedback, and they were sure that the opinions they gave in November did not change by March or April. Furthermore, they did not wish to appear inconsistent in their views of the school. The investigators did not take these comments at face value. How much intrusion was 10 minutes in two months? The data were extremely useful in understanding the impact of the total system, as we shall show in Chapter Five. They had aided us in ruling out adolescence as the exclusive explanation for difficult human relationships in the system. Moreover, our results supported the hypothesis that attitudes toward the school were a function of time in the organization. But we did recognize there was a problem of

reactivity and searched for ways to solve it which were responsive to research needs and respondents' objections.

With the internal change agents we sought ways to redesign the instrument so it would be less offensive to respondents and yet still useful. Two strategies evolved: (1) to reduce the number of items used by the investigators, and (2) to add new items more consonant with the interests of students and faculty. In October 1970, the researchers knew that some items on the questionnaire were not useful for their research purposes and were willing to drop them. But two scales had proven very useful, those for measuring satisfaction and involvement with the system. Each of these scales had four items in the original version of the questionnaire, and they defined independent orthogonal variables (see Chapter Five). The investigators wanted to keep these scales in a revised instrument. But the internal consultants said that respondents objected strenuously to perceived redundancy among the items, and therefore pressed for fewer items in each scale. Reluctantly the researchers agreed to reduce the number of items from four to three with the understanding that the items retained would be identical to the ones used during the preceding year. The insider-outsider team then proceeded to develop additional items acceptable to all parties. Both insiders and outsiders were pleased with the outcome of the discussions. When the insiders offered to take charge of reproducing the questionnaires, the outsiders were especially pleased because that act indicated greater ownership by the inside group.

But this negotiation was not as fruitful as it seemed. The new TSQ contained with items on the satisfaction and involvement scales changed, and we therefore lost the capability to compare 1969 and 1970 data. Table 3-3 shows the three items that were to be maintained from 1969 to 1970 with the changed elements printed in italics.

Insert Table 3-3 here.

Table J-3

CHANGES IN QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS FROM 1969 TO 1970

1969	1970
<u>Satisfaction</u>	
I am highly satisfied with <u>my experience</u> at Gaight.	I am highly satisfied with <u>my life</u> at Gaight.
I am very much dissatisfied with my experience at Gaight.	I am very much dissatisfied with my experience at Gaight.
I have often thought about <u>leaving Gaight</u> .	I have often thought about <u>leaving Gaight permanently</u> .
<u>Involvement</u>	
I am really pretty apathetic about my life at Gaight.	I am really pretty apathetic about my life at Gaight.
I am personally very much involved in <u>life at Gaight</u> .	I am personally very much involved in <u>the Gaight community</u> .
I feel alienated from <u>life at Gaight</u> .	I feel alienated from <u>the Gaight community</u> .

There were a number of remarkable features to this process. None of the changes were substantial in terms of reducing redundancy. Each altered the meaning of the item enough to prevent direct comparison from one year to the next. Because two of three items were changed on both scales, it was not even possible to maintain a two item scale from one year to the next. The researchers had explained the concept of internal consistency to show why multiple items were necessary. It is hard to believe that the internal change agents did not know at some level what it meant to alter two items on each scale.

These inadvertent changes suggest that there were forces operating on both internal and external consultants to subvert the continuing diagnostic process. Changing the satisfaction and involvement scales served no rational purpose when it was done. The changes did not serve the objections toward which the actions might have been aimed; redundancy was not reduced. One can only ask, "Why?" And answers to this question must be viewed as informed speculation.

Renegotiation about the TSQ came at a moment of transition in the study. We were moving from a phase that was primarily diagnostic to one that was more action oriented. The internal consultants had recently passed through a stormy faculty meeting (described in Chapter Nine) in which their new roles were negotiated with the entire staff. Although both men had quite high standing in the community, they were, nevertheless, taking a large risk in associating themselves with "the Yale study." They could not help feeling conflicting loyalties between the faculty and the project.

For the external researcher-consultants it was a moment of transferring control of the project to the inside team. This process also heightened mixed feelings. There were many reasons why this transfer was made: (1) if change was to occur it had to be nurtured from inside; (2) it was apparent

that many faculty members were unwilling to engage in activities with outsiders; (3) much data pointed to these two men as potentially the most competent internal change agents. Despite all these "logical" reasons for shifting the locus of project control, the researcher-consultants felt some reluctance to let go and were aware of this feeling. As a result that outsiders may have let go of too much in order to be sure that they were not being unduly possessive about "their" research project. Caught between the conflicting pressures of meeting the external consultants' needs and satisfying faculty objections, the internal consultants did neither in producing the revised TSQ.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In subsequent chapters we shall present analyses that grew out of the objectives, working assumptions, and operational procedures presented in this chapter. In the remaining chapters of this section three approaches to understanding the Gaight School will be presented. They illustrate the approaches to data collection described above and each contributes to the objectives of the study.

As this chapter has presented our point of view about organizational research and human relationships, it has demonstrated that way of going about research by presenting three methodological studies. Each of these studies addressed issues provoked by our efforts to combine rigorous research methods with the realities of organizational life. And each did so by a different methodological approach. The empathic questionnaire study was a field experiment complete with directional predictions and of control over the manipulation and measurement of relevant variables. The system inclusion and measurement reliability study was a field correlational analysis

that was as much exploratory as predictive. The study of instrument recalibration was a descriptive report of an emergent finding illustrating the partially covert processes that can hinder action research in human settings. These three methodological studies illustrate the range of approaches we shall use in diagnosing substantive issues in the Gaight School.

Chapter Four

THE FLAVOR OF LIFE AT GAIGHT

This chapter seeks to present the quality of life in the school as we initially encountered it. The description of school life will be a qualitative one, based on information gleaned from observations, interviews, and open-ended questionnaire responses. Our intention is to communicate to the reader some of the atmosphere of the school as we experienced it. It was from this initial experience that we designed the more quantitative data collection and analysis reported in Chapter Five. We will start by portraying the general background of Gaight and its members, and then describe some aspects of daily life in the school. The final section of the chapter will describe the human problems we began to isolate as important in the course of our diagnosis.

I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

The Gaight School is a major institution in a small town. Its location insulates it from much of the hustle and bustle of more urbanized areas, and its physical layout even insulates it from the surrounding town itself. Gaight's buildings are clustered in a central area set off from the rest of the town by playing fields, trees, lawn, and fences. The main building of the school is an intimidating brick behemoth set in the center of well-tended grounds; other smaller buildings--like the infirmary, a supplementary dormitory, and the new science and library buildings--huddle around the central giant, which contains dormitories, classrooms, administration offices, recreation facilities, dining rooms, an auditorium, and a host of other facilities. The school is obviously an institution--no

weekend gardener mows the expanse of tree-dotted lawn that surrounds it. The gestalt is one of substantiality, the school was here yesterday, and it will be here tomorrow.

The physical resources of the school are impressive. Few public schools can afford the array of athletic facilities--from golf courses to gymnasiums--that Gaight students enjoy. The main building, in which most boarding students and faculty live, was constructed at a time when dark wood panelling and decorative stonework were common. The original elegance of the building appointments are still visible in some areas, like the administrative wing and some faculty apartments. Generations of hard use are evident in the classrooms and the dormitories, however, and some of them have been redecorated. The newer buildings offer facilities matched by only the most well-to-do and recently-constructed public schools and colleges. To the extent that physical resources reflect institutional values, it is clear that Gaight is very much concerned with athletic and academic affairs and somewhat less engrossed in creating a beautiful living space for its students.

Generations come and go at Gaight; many of today's students are sons of Gaight alumni. They come to the school primed with their father's reminiscences, and they may encounter faculty members who taught their fathers. The school is aware of its history. Plaques commemorating scholars and athletes of years gone by line the walls of some corridors. Sons of distinguished Gaight alumni are often reminded of the shoes they must fill.

Some teachers and alumni recall the "old days" with a good deal of fondness. There was a time when the school was "a close-knit family" under the paternal guidance of the headmaster. The previous headmaster ruled with a firm hand, and deviations from his expectations were not permitted. For

some students and faculty, this benevolent autocracy was highly congenial: the headmaster is reported to have once commanded a promising young teacher with a speech impediment to "stop stammering" and to have received instant and permanent obedience. For others, the closeness of the supervision rankled. As one faculty member reported:

It's hard to believe. . . some of the unreasoning requests or requirements that he put upon a person. . . for example. . . I was the bell committee. . . [and]. . . when we were in examination periods or a holiday or something, it was my job to come down and ring the bell even though I live way off campus. . . there was a friend of mine who lived over in [a dorm] and I asked him if he would drop over and ring the bells for me one morning . . . and he was glad to do it. But then all of a sudden, the Headmaster called me in and said, "I've become aware of the fact that you've got somebody else doing your job, which indicates to me a shirking of your responsibility. I think it might be wise if you start thinking about going to another school."

But times have changed, in more ways than one. In the early sixties, the old headmaster retired. The new headmaster came from an administration post in higher education, and his leadership style was different indeed from his predecessor's. One faculty member, who found the previous headmaster too autocratic, assessed the new headmaster differently.

He knows exactly where he's going, and he's bound and determined that he's going to get there, but he is going to put the school someday on the map as a pretty well-known school. . . . I do feel that sometimes he's given too much freedom and license to the boys. There have been times when he simply should have said, "Absolutely no, it's out of the question," when he's stopped and listened to them. . . . [but] in the long view what he's doing is going to be of so much benefit to this school that I think it possibly puts the other business in the shadow.

Students too have changed. Today's students are less likely to be "respectful" than those of the old days. School staff members are likely to be treated without the sort of consideration they once received:

Boys are different today. . . . They behave differently, they look different. Now, when I first came here we still had the discipline, the old-time discipline. But now boys are freer and have more to say. . . . today youngsters use all sorts of profane language. If something doesn't suit them, they'll cuss me.

. . . [the maids] used to go into the boys' rooms, and the boys were supposed to be off the corridors. They'd go into a room and the kid'd say, "Get the hell out of here." Well, this is no way to treat a woman that is old enough to be his mother or his grandmother. . . .

Some faculty regard the changes in the students and the school as a disaster; as one wrote in a farewell letter to the school paper:

It seems the modern trend is to weigh the opinion of a college president and his board of trustees on a par with a college Sophomore. In prep school the opinion of the administration made up of experienced teachers and any ninth grader is of equal import. . . . It is unfair to the undergraduate to "con" him into thinking that he has the necessary knowledge or experience that would give him the right or the responsibility to run an educational institution such as Gaight. . . . Some of us oldsters have ideals too--and are so dedicated that they are willing to give up their way of life and profession rather than watch the degradation of those values, traditions, and ideals.

In short, Gaight is very conscious of its past, but it is clear that things are changing and that the past is not going to persist in the forms to which the older members of the school community are accustomed. The outside world is changing, and those changes effect both faculty and students.

Gaight's students are, on the whole, an extremely bright and energetic group. In large part the sons of upper middle and upper class parents who can afford the tuition, they are ordinarily highly academically skilled when they arrive. Many of them have already attended private schools with high academic standards, and all of them have passed rigorous tests for admission. These admission policies of course, lead to a very homogeneous student body, and in recent years Gaight has been trying to enrich its mix of students with talented students from less well-to-do families. One avenue for diversifying the socio-economic mix is to admit highly qualified local students who live at home and avoid the expense of boarding at the school; about ten percent of Gaight's students are day students. Another

route to increasing student heterogeneity is to offer financial aid to "disadvantaged" students. Gaight has recruited a number of black students on this model, but living and working at Gaight is not easy for black students. The school's efforts to recruit black faculty have not been successful, and the culture of the student body is hard on students who are different. As one black student put it:

[The most significant characteristic of the Gaight community is] ignorance of trying to understand the black man and what he stands for.

[Gaight has helped me most] to see the moral convictions of the students that black is ugly or inferior.

The difference between white and black experience is exacerbated by the sudden press to recruit blacks by schools and colleges. Even a relatively non-racist student may resent the fact that he is on the receiving end of inverted prejudice:

Gaight didn't have a black graduate until 1959. Now you find that the Gaight School is going out of its way to get these so-called underprivileged students.

Gaight students are particularly sensitive to the vagaries of the college market. Getting into "The College of Your Choice" is a prime reason for attending Gaight, and resentment runs deep when black students receive preferential treatment from college admissions officers even though most Gaight students would deny holding overtly racist views.

Gaight's faculty take their jobs very seriously. There are a number of older faculty who have been teaching at the school for decades. New faculty members, often with a private school education, frequently come to the school directly from college to explore the possibilities of teaching. Teaching in a private school may limit the teacher's later options, since prep schools do not require the certification necessary to teach in public schools. Individuals may find themselves confined to the private school

market because they do not have the credentials to go elsewhere. Young faculty turn over more rapidly than older men. New faculty often decide that teaching or Gaight is not for them and move on, but once a teacher has remained for four or five years he is likely to stay.

Most new faculty members move into the school to live on a corridor with the students. Constant interaction with students rapidly tests the newcomer's mettle and motivation. Strong relationships can develop between new masters and students, and among the faculty members themselves.

When you enter a system [at the same time] as a group of other people do, if you have much in common with them, a pretty deep relationship can tend to develop. . . there were three of us who used to go out every night about 10:30 and drink beer, eat pizza, and talk about each other, life and our expectations. . . .

By the same token, new faculty members have been "driven out" because of their inability to cope with the demands of corridor life. Although some faculty members stay on the corridors for years, most eventually move into nearby houses as their families increase in size and they accumulate seniority. Living outside cuts down on the faculty member's involvement in many aspects of school life, and many ex-corridor masters express nostalgia for the days when they were in the thick of the action. Few faculty members without strong commitments to working with the students remain at the school for long.

II. DAILY LIFE AT GAIGHT

In our experience with the Gaight community, several themes of daily life emerged. Those themes recurred in interviews, in observations, in responses to questionnaires. For example, student responses to open-ended questions about their personal models provided rich information about the values of the community. This section seeks to describe and illustrate

these themes of daily life.

A. Competition and the Pursuit of Excellence

Both faculty and students place a high value on achievement and the pursuit of excellence. The most frequently described characteristic of models selected by students was some sort of excellence. The pursuit of excellence--the importance of successful achievement and competition--permeates school life from classrooms to athletic fields to interpersonal repartee.

One obvious arena for competition and achievement is scholastic work. Students take their studies very seriously indeed, partly because grades are so important (it is believed) for admission to "The College of Your Choice" (a phrase that was capitalized in intonation by both students and faculty):

I figure I'm here at Gaith to try to get into a good college.
I mean this is a secondary school, and the most important thing
is to get a good education. . . do well in your studies. . . .

It is not clear that students distinguish between "getting into a good college," "getting a good education," and "doing well in your studies." Our impression is that the real priority for many is "getting into a good college," and getting good grades is perceived as an important step in that process. Students spend a great deal of time studying; most work for several hours a day over and above the time spent in class, and also do homework on Saturdays and Sundays.

The school visibly promotes the concern with academic excellence. The names of students who made the honor roll last year are conspicuously displayed in the main corridor, and the school is justly proud of its reputation for exceptionally high academic standards. Many courses for seniors are college freshman level or above, and faculty members report

with glee stories of returning graduates complaining about the low level of their freshman courses.

Other faculty are somewhat concerned at the difficulty of the curriculum and its effects:

It doesn't make allowance for the ordinary, "average" boy. . . . [In contrast, the students today are] extremely well prepared, very proficient. . . in general, they're of a higher echelon than what we used to run into. . . .

I would prefer, if my own likes and dislikes came into this, I would prefer to have a boy be a bit more relaxed and maybe have to spend an extra year in school.

But even if faculty members are concerned about the effects of an ever-increasing curriculum load on students, they go on contributing to that load:

I cannot understand what the great big hurry, the big rush that we're caught up in, and yet we all contribute to it, unfortunately. We sit around in the faculty room and declaim there's this type of thing, and yet we go right to our next class and raise hell with some kid because he hasn't got a certain point or prepared himself.

A similar concern with excellence is evident in both faculty and student concerns with athletics. Two students mentioned frequently as models by other students were a dedicated cross-country runner and an exceptionally talented hockey player, both of whom demonstrated extraordinary prowess and were revered for it. Athletic events are often mentioned by both faculty and students as being the most significant events in their lives at Gaight. A faculty member, for example, reports as the most significant event in his Gaight experience:

A tennis team's championship season last year, several of the boys I'd coached for three years--they had come nervous, too careful players to aggressive winners. Effect: new tennis courts, [catalyst for] general build-up of the tennis program.

Students report participation in athletics as a route to both achievement and personal growth:

Probably playing varsity football is the most significant thing I have done [at Gaight]. . . . I needed the feeling of accomplishment, I needed the camaraderie, and I needed the influence of. . . the Coach, who I feel is one of the finest men I have ever met.

. . . it's hard to explain to someone who hasn't run cross-country because on our team it's a great deal more than just a sport. . . you have a purpose and a goal to attain which you try to attain. . . you could run the course in eighteen minutes and twenty-four seconds and then the next time you try to do it in less than that. . . It's kind of the whole idea of not just becoming a faster runner but improving yourself in something. . .

In both academics and athletics the pursuit of excellence frequently involves competition either with oneself or with others. Competition with others for limited resources like admission to The College of Your Choice, slots on the honor roll, and starting positions on the football team, is probably the more common. The human relations workshop may have had some effects on senior performance in the final two weeks of school: coaches reported that there had been some particularly good athletic performances by seniors in spite of their missing practice to go to the laboratory, while another faculty member reported with some mystification that the ordinary scramble by seniors to find out their exam grades in his course had failed to materialize.

B. The Importance of Peers

Students at Gaight are greatly influenced by their peers. Traditionally, it has been thought that young people model themselves after older people, particularly authority figures. But Gaight students reported more school peers as models than any other category. School authorities were the fourth most frequently selected group of models after peers, public figures, and family authorities.

Sometimes the impact of peers on one another is very positive, either in casual contacts:

I found, on my first day, that my schedule was wrong, and I did not know where to go, and suddenly, a senior came by and offered me help. This showed me how the students go out of their way to help their peers.

or in more organized team activities:

[in varsity football] I learned to work with ten other people in a cohesive unit in order to accomplish a goal. I got to know my teammates very well. They were my closest and dearest friends. I relied on them and put trust in them on and off the field. . . .

But such power in the peer group may also have less beneficial effects, particularly when the peer-group does not share the values that the institution is trying to preserve and teach. The social pressures of peers may lead to behavior that creates problems both for the student and for the institution:

Last year a junior tried acid for the first time; he didn't really want to. . . but. . . social pressure-- they were all saying, "Do it, do it."

Being part of the culture, being "one of the guys," is very important at Gaight, and there are always a few students who are not accepted by their peers. As one faculty member put it, explaining why he would not send his son to Gaight:

I would just be very much afraid that I would have one of the unshining, unbright, unlovable students. That I would have a son that is one of the real unlovables, that nobody likes, faculty or student. . . . I would be afraid that my kid would be one of those, and this is a place that destroys those people.

For students who are not athletic, or articulate, or able to excel academically, or otherwise able to carve out a rewarding niche in the peer culture, life at the school can be an experience to be "endured" rather than enjoyed. For others, life-long friendships may be forged and much learned through peer relationships.

C. Shortages of Time and Energy

Students and faculty alike find themselves overcommitted and chronically short of time and energy. As an administrator described the problems:

[I'm] always sliding home just behind the throw. . . . My huge frustration is that I just simply do not have the time to get to all the places and do the things that I think are necessary, so that a good bit of my time is spent after the fact, after something has blown up, after something is rubbed the wrong way, and trying to put it back together again.

Faculty and students also find themselves forced to keep running constantly to stay abreast of events. A typical student "day" includes breakfast, classes, lunch, more classes, compulsory athletics, study, supper, extra-curricular activities and homework before lights out at night. For many, virtually every waking minute is filled with activities; some students stay up all night when papers or projects are due, and many regularly study late or get up early to cope with their work loads. The administration declares regular "holidays" to reduce some of the pressure on students, but many also use those holidays for study.

The faculty find themselves under similar pressures. Most faculty who live in the dorms eat meals with the students, since a faculty member sits at the head of each student table. They teach the classes, coach the athletic teams, advise the extra-curricular activities, counsel the students, maintain discipline on the corridors, correct papers, prepare lesson plans, serve on committees, patrol buildings, and spend the time left over with their wives and families, doing private work, or in recreation. There is not, as one might suspect, a lot of time left over, particularly for those faculty members who are really committed to working with the students.

Time shortage is both a cause and an effect of scheduling problems. Since everyone is so busy, important events and meetings must be scheduled for months in advance. But such advance scheduling makes further inroads

into the time available to cope with issues as they arise. Many people at Gaight feel they are overcommitted on the one hand, and spend much too much time dealing with trivia on the other.

D. The Private School and Lack of Privacy

Gaight, like other "private" schools, is paradoxically able to protect its residents from the inroads by the outside world only at the cost of exposing them to the ravages by their co-residents on the inside. The school is private with respect to outsiders; insiders are constantly falling over each other in a goldfish bowl.

A student or faculty member who comes to Gaight for the first time finds that the school is indeed cut off in many ways from the outside world. Geographically most students and faculty come from some distance away, and there is no easy access to urban centers from the campus. Even locally, Gaight is relatively insulated: fields and a fence set the school off from the public street.

Psychologically, the school culture also tends to set its members off from the outside world. Gaight students speak of their friends at home with good-natured tolerance as "naive" and "immature," at least in comparison with the average Gaight student. They offer even less respect to students who attend local high schools, when they consider them at all.

The geographical and psychological boundaries between the school and the outside world are reinforced by the school's weekend policy; students are allowed to leave the school on two weekends each semester. This policy is based on the assumption that many students came from far enough away to make weekend visits unfeasible. If the school is to house any students on weekends, it must keep enough to insure that remaining open is economically viable. The policy insures that most students remain at the school most of

the time.

Interviewer: What do you feel are the most significant rules in the Gaight community?

Student: . . . one thing, the weekends. I don't think there's enough weekends at all. Cause you're mostly trapped here. Like I only get one Friday weekend.

Interviewer: You mean for the whole year?

Student: Yeah, and I have to earn it. . . . You don't get a Friday weekend each term, and that's bad. It's like being trapped here.

For similar reasons, the faculty is also confined to the school for most of the school year. Faculty members are needed at the school over the weekend to supervise the students.

Physical space limitations, however, make much privacy within the school impossible. Students and faculty who live in the dormitories must learn to cope with one another at close quarters. Even for those who have private rooms, most activities take place with large groups of people. Everyone on the corridors lives in a goldfish bowl. This situation creates tension for students and faculty alike:

I think Gaight is least enjoyed when you're married, and can sometimes be an insurmountable problem to a marriage. . . . unfortunately our apartment is not large enough that I can have students in and talk to them privately. I like my wife to talk to them, she likes to talk to them, but there are times when a boy wants to be private with you, and I feel rather funny sending my wife to the bedroom.

Being a recently-married corridor master at Gaight is a difficult dilemma, and one that is not always happily resolved.

The "closed system" aspect of the school is a mixed blessing. Although having the boys at the school creates an extraordinary opportunity to influence them, the confining quality of school policy also creates a "hothouse" atmosphere where tensions can become extreme.

III. HUMAN PROBLEMS AT GAIGHT

We were particularly interested in finding out about the human problems of the Gaight School, since our contract called for finding ways to help the school improve. The negatively weighted discussion in this section should not be taken to imply that Gaight is without strengths. On the contrary, we believe the school has many good qualities: for example, we think the academic education offered by Gaight is matched by few secondary schools in the country. But our task was to look at human problems and a number of themes emerged during our study that we perceived to be negative aspects of the school.

A. Socialization by Ordeal

The more we talked to Gaight students, the more it appeared that the process by which newcomers "learned the ropes" amounted to a traumatic experience. Newcomers, particularly freshmen, are often away from home for the first time and are anxious about "making it" at Gaight; they are highly vulnerable and scared.

"New boys" are assigned "old boys" from the upper classes to help them learn how to get along. Sometimes this arrangement is very helpful; more often the "old boys" regard their charges as a burden to be dealt with as summarily as possible. "New boys" also get handbooks that describe school rules and expectations, and the faculty members and prefects in the dormitories hold orientation meetings. But most of the socialization process takes place informally, as the "new boys" find out what to do and what not to do by trial and error.

Errors are not well received. The tolerance for deviation from norms of behavior and appearance is not high:

This school has a rather unfriendly atmosphere. . . any student will notice it right away when he goes here because just about the first old boy you meet is sarcastic. . . you wear like a pair of pants that are different. . . and you walk into a classroom, almost every student in the class says, "That's cool. . ."

The student who does not create a secure spot for himself in the developing pecking order can be in for an uncomfortable or genuinely destructive experience:

There's a lot of sadism around here, like when some freshman comes in who's really kind of an idiot, really dumb-looking kid and everybody sort of jumps on him. . . really cut him down completely so that it's his first couple of weeks here and already there's a lot of people that are ostracizing him completely.

One Gaight "tradition" encourages sophomores and other older students to initiate freshmen into the school customs by throwing them into the pond behind the main building. This practice is defended by some upperclassmen as "all in good fun," but it clearly frightens all but the most hardy of the new students:

. . . the pond that they throw us in is very dirty so it's not the greatest of experiences. . . last Saturday night most kids [freshmen] locked themselves in [their] room, because everybody was coming around the halls to get you and throw you in.

In short, newcomers, particularly weak or different newcomers like freshmen or students from a different cultural background, face a difficult experience when they enter Gaight. They must manage whatever concerns and feelings they have about being far from home in a new and demanding situation. They must also cope with a climate and some hazing practices that increase the anxieties and feelings of inadequacy that already exist.

B. Life, Death, and the Pursuit of Prestige

Prestige and status are pursued at Gaight with a dedicated intensity reflecting the organizational life and death at stake. Status among the students is a function of excellence at something, and those who do not

achieve status may feel organizationally "dead".

One focus of competition is grades and admission to The College of Your Choice. For some students, the preoccupation with getting into college may become the central fact of existence:

Certain people. . . do everything just so it will get them into a particular college. . . . Some people are so college-conscious that. . . they really disregard their own personal feelings and. . . conform to do everything for The College of Your Choice in an effort to get in it.

Some students find themselves wondering about whether their investment has been worthwhile afterwards:

[The most significant thing that I have done at Gaight is] a commitment to four advanced placement courses brought on by steady advancement through honors programs. I'm not sure it was good, but I am somewhat committed now to a format that hopefully will give me the freedom I don't enjoy now when I get to college. It has pushed me hard, to some extent at the cost of quality. I think it is essentially a good thing.

Sometimes competition and pursuit of excellence in the academic arena may have destructive as well as constructive consequences for the students involved.

Similarly, the competitive aspects of athletic endeavors bring out high performance, but may be overdone to the point that the experience becomes destructive. One of Gaight's coaches is reputed to have an ungovernable temper when his teams do not perform up to expectations, and some students have decided to forego playing that sport while he is coach.

Not everyone can achieve status and prestige through athletics and scholarship however much they would like to. One destructive aspect of the competitiveness at Gaight is that students tend to "cut down" their rivals if they cannot out-achieve them:

. . . if you're a good athlete, you're a jock; if you're a good student, you're a grind. Nobody can accept the fact that somebody has been successful. . . They really don't like to give him credit. . . . I've seen a lot of guys take a lot of grief for just doing something well that they enjoy.

The ultimate in transforming virtues into defects may have been attained in the sarcastic nickname of "Perf" applied to a student who had simultaneously achieved the distinction of being first in his class scholastically and football team captain.

Mounting the status ladder is no laughing matter to Gaight students for status positions affect both life within the school and life afterwards (The College of Your Choice). Those who fall behind may never catch up again. As one senior put it.

. . . one good thing about Gaight is that it gets you used to pressure --it builds up resistance so you can take pressure. . . some people crack under it, you know. . . then they shouldn't be at Gaight.

"Cracking" under the pressure is not uncommon. In some cases, it leads to what might be called "organizational death" as the student withdraws from or is kicked out of the school. We heard of several students who apparently chose to flagrantly break major school rules as a way of arranging their exit from the school. Organizational suicide as a solution to too much pressure may, in fact, be the most healthy solution in some cases.

C. Verbal and Non-Verbal Aggression

Interpersonal aggression is very common among Gaight students. During the senior laboratory workshop, the groups, composed entirely of seniors, had a great deal of difficulty in communicating directly but they also ended up the most positive about the experience

I was in a group of twelve seniors, people I had been living with for four years, and when we came out after these two days, it was just an entirely different relationship for everyone in the whole group--because we'd been living so close and yet had been so distant. It was fabulous some of the relationships that developed. People who had been snubbing other people publicly for four years and in the halls had been degrading them suddenly had to sit down and confront one another. . . and when this confrontation was over, the feeling of closeness and class unity was something I had never experienced at Gaight.

Interpersonal interaction in the school involved both verbal and non-verbal aggression. Non-verbal aggression was reportedly most common among freshmen, both in physical attacks on each other and in destruction of each others' property, like records and clothes. The older students are more likely to engage in non-verbal violence in institutionalized contexts like throwing freshmen into the pond or snowball fights with the seniors.

Verbal aggression in interaction is much more common; "cutting people down" is acclaimed as an art form. Virtually everyone practices sarcasm, though there is substantial disagreement as to whether the art is practiced in fun or with intent to injure:

This ridicule is not serious, no harm is usually done. Often times I find it enjoyable. No one is ever cut to hurt him.

Sarcasm is, to me, the most destructive force working at Gaight. As a result of this sarcasm. . . the school is a much less productive institution than it could be. People are always afraid of being ridiculed and hence their productiveness and initiative is stifled. Sarcasm is the one thing in this school which has made me wish I never came here.

Clearly for some students, sarcastic behavior creates problems.

The causes of sarcastic behavior are not entirely clear, although students see both competition and concern with inclusion in the peer group as influential:

I feel that ["cutting people down"] is a major problem at Gaight. I feel strongly about it. I feel the reason it is done so often is because (1) academically, Gaight is a competitive place, and (2) students here want terribly to be accepted into certain groups of students--therefore will cut people down to please friends.

One advantage of sarcastic interaction is that it creates ambiguity in communication that leaves the sarcastic speaker in a relatively invulnerable position; he has just sent two messages, one positive (communication content) and one negative (communication tone). If the recipient challenges him about which he actually meant, he can deny either message. The only safe response available to the recipient is counter-sarcasm, which, of course, continues and escalates the cycle of ambiguous negatively-loaded communication. Some students become "scapegoats" for the rest, possibly for their entire time in the school:

I have to ridicule, laugh at, etc. others in order that I will be accepted. Those who don't, are labeled "Fag," "Homo," "Fem," "Fairy," etc., and if you acquire such a label, you can't get rid of it. Even if you talk to a "Fag" it is possible that you too, will become one (in label at least). Hurting people is the only way to be accepted by your peers, and even though nobody really wants to, they can't help it.

Others make the assumption that the best defense is a good offense, and so set up potential self-fulfilling prophecies about others' intentions:

The "cutting down" is so great that I now attack people before they have a chance to say anything whether they meant to attack me or not. I just assume they are going to.

D. "Big Fucking Deal": Apathy, Cynicism, and Escape

In our first conversations with students we began to hear references to "BFD" and "NA", which turned out to mean "Negative Attitude" and "Big Fucking Deal"--all-purpose terms that refer to generalized apathy and cynicism among Gaight students.

Apathy about life in the school tends to be widespread, particularly as the year wears on. At the beginning of the study, there was a regular column in the student newspaper called "BFD", which discussed the tensions and difficulties of life at school. Many students conceived of "BFD" as a disease, and talked of "catching it," "fighting it," "having it," and

"resisting it." We were introduced to one student who was seen by his classmates and by himself as having "caught BFL." His symptoms included a room that was a masterpiece of dirt and disarray (somewhat proudly displayed) and a grade point average that dropped a full two points between fall and spring.

Cynicism took apathy one step further, from indifference to active denial of many of the values of the school. Many students reported their most significant experiences at Gaight involved breaking major school rules, such as the prohibitions of drinking and drug use at the campus. Others spoke at length about failures to live up to school values by faculty and administrators: arbitrary use of faculty disciplinary power, dishonest behavior by administrators, rumors that the faculty had "fixed" elections. The most obvious outcropping of cynicism and corruption was the case of the prefects, who were less and less able to carry out their roles as models and police for the school's disciplinary system as the year wore on. In 1969-70 and again in 1970-71 school years, by spring the prefects were actively violating the school rules they were charged with enforcing. In some cases, they actually enforced against others the rules they were unwilling to obey themselves--model of cynicism and corruption that seriously influenced the rest of the school.

A third reaction to life in the school, often associated with the first two, was to engage in various forms of escape from the situation. Some students broke major school rules flagrantly until they were finally caught and expelled. Others withdrew psychologically, "enduring" the rest of their term at Gaight. Others sought release in drinking and drug use--liquor and drugs offered both a sense of release and an opportunity to express rebellion and resentment to the school, since both items are proscribed for Gaight students on pain of expulsion. In the view of one

drug-using student, widespread use was fast becoming a reality at Gaight.

By last spring the drug scene had grown 'til. . . at least ten per cent of our class was stoned twice a week. And this year. . . it's growing a great deal. Like this year's freshman class. . . I've seen three or four of them stoned. . . whereas twenty per cent of our class turns on. . . I'd say at least fifty per cent of the freshman class will smoke at school or do something else . . . by the time they're seniors.

Such drug use presented serious problems to the administration, since it violated state laws as well as school rules. Unless the school could control it, state enforcement agencies might step in--an eventuality the school wanted very much to prevent.

E. The Decay of Morale Over Time

A final human problem that emerged from our initial work with the school is its impacts on students as they spend more time in it. Living in the school seems to have negative effects on student emotional life even though the education has clearly beneficial effects on student intellectual capacities.

Virtually everyone agrees that the low point of the school year is the winter term, when students are unable to go outside, the weather is depressing, and the term seems endless. After spring vacation, the weather improves and the end of the academic year approaches, and morale is expected to improve. The more confining the school becomes, the lower student morale.

In our first conversations with Gaight faculty, a related trend emerged: faculty members described the student body as evolving from "bright-eyed and bush-tailed" freshmen to "apathetic," and "cynical" and "sullen" seniors. This observation was born out by our observations and interviews, particularly as seniors described the dominant characteristic of their class as "apathy".

In short, we found reason to believe that just living in the school has negative effects on student morale, both in terms of the school year and in terms of a student career of several years in the school. This decline in morale seemed to be associated with the extent to which the students felt confined by the school, and so reached its yearly peak during the winter term when everyone had to spend most of his time actually inside the school.

Chapter Five

EFFECTS OF GAIGHT ON THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT

In the preceding chapter we presented our initial impressions of the Gaight social system in roughly conceptualized form. These ideas were derived from the initial workshop with students and faculty, from our interactions with school officials as we negotiated for the workshop and the subsequent diagnosis, and from our earliest round of systematic data collection by semi-structured interviews and questionnaires. While specific issues and variables (such as peer relations, competition, system insultation, etc.) were being identified, we had not yet begun the intellectual work of developing a theoretical system which might do justice to the complex phenomena we were encountering. We had not yet begun to form a set of interrelated concepts for understanding the Gaight School. Eventually, however, we changed from primarily an experiential to a more cognitive mode of knowing. We formulated a number of related variables and discovered a body of literature that allowed us to bring a more analytic and quantitative approach to studying the Gaight School. The present chapter conveys those key concepts and describes a series of statistical analyses which examine the effects of the Gaight social system on the individual student.

I. CONCEPTS FOR UNDERSTANDING CLOSED SYSTEMS

Boriding schools belong to a class of organizations called "total institutions" by Goffman (1961). Other members of this class of systems include prisons and mental hospitals.

A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off

from wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life. (Goffman, 1961, p. xiii)

All human systems are open systems in contrast to many physical systems which are completely cut off from environmental influences. But human systems vary in their degree of openness, total institutions are relatively closed species of human systems. Although there has been rather extensive research on prisons and mental hospitals, there is almost no systematic behavioral research on boarding schools or organizations.

Open systems theory predicts that excessively closed systems gain in entropy and disorder as time passes (Katz and Kahn, 1966). Two indicators of disorder in human systems are attitudes of members and the nature of human relationships among them. Street, Vinter, and Perrow (1966) compared the attitudes of inmates of juvenile correction institutions which varied in their degree of confinement. Members of the less confining institutions showed more positive attitudes toward themselves, the staff, and the institution as a whole than members of the more confining institutions. As time passed attitudes in the highly confining institutions became more negative, while attitudes in the more open systems became more positive. Human relationships also differed between the two kinds of institutions. In more open institutions there was a higher staff to inmate ratio and more frequent contacts between external social service personnel and inmates. The staff of more open institutions had different attitudes toward the inmates than the staff of more closed institutions. They saw their primary task as developing close and trusting relationships with the inmates rather than promoting conformity to institutional rules. Relationships among the inmates also differed as a function of institutional openness. In the more open institutions, inmates had more friends, hung around with more friends,

and were more willing to discuss personal problems with others.

Related to the studies of closed and confining institutions are investigations of small groups in social isolation. This research includes a wide range of studies--field and laboratory--which assess the effects on morale and interpersonal relations of prohibiting social interaction with individuals outside the group for extended periods of time. Seward Smith (1969) has recently provided an extensive review of this literature which shows that results from these studies closely parallel those from larger organizations. Smith found that the most frequent outcome of isolating groups was overt or covert interpersonal hostility. Field studies identified this phenomenon and laboratory studies demonstrated that isolated groups showed more interpersonal friction than control groups. Interpersonal isolation also appeared in the isolated groups. Group members in confined settings withdrew from one another, avoided controversial subjects, and complained of loneliness. These interpersonal processes preceded outbreaks of territoriality in which group members would claim possession of geographic areas and personalized objects. Confined groups also showed declines in morale and motivation over time, and sleeplessness, depression, and compulsive behavior were observed.

In short, there is substantial evidence that members of confined human groups and organizations show predictable reactions. Morale and motivation decline, and interpersonal relationships deteriorate as time passes. While none of these findings was obtained from boarding schools, these systems also share the relatively closed properties of prisons, mental hospitals, and isolated groups. Boarding schools might therefore be expected to show similar results.

II. MEASURING SYSTEM IMPACT

This section presents three methods for assessing the impact of living at Gaight. The approaches use different kinds of data and subject them to different analyses. The first employs unstructured information to indicate the centrality of student concerns about the system. The second analysis shows how attitude and relationship measures varied as a function of system boundaries. The third approach explains how relationship conditions enhanced or diminished one another. Each approach employs concepts from open systems theory and introduces new measures.

Methodological and theoretical reasons dictate the order of presentation in this section. Using open-ended questions initially, we attempted to discover what sectors of school life were sources of pain and pleasure for the students. This approach provided a methodological check on our initial impressions that it was not academics or athletics which were sources of grief for students but other human interactions. Next we moved to testing whether time and residence, as indicators of system boundaries were associated with patterns of student attitudes and human relationships. Finally, we sought to explain sarcasm in the Gaight system as a function of student mutuality with significant others inside and outside the organization.

A. Significant Events

Although in a sense we asked our respondents to fit their way of viewing the world into the conceptual framework we brought to the study, we also wanted to provide ample opportunity for them to speak to us in their own terms. One long questionnaire invited respondents to describe the most significant events they had experienced at the school. There were two such

questions, one emphasizing the student as proactive agent acting on his environment and the other one viewing the student as the object of events:

1. What is the most significant thing you have done at Gaight?
2. What is the most significant thing that has happened to you at Gaight?

Students typically wrote several sentences or a paragraph in response to these questions. A coding system was developed to reduce this rich and complex data to more manageable form.

1. Coding Significant Events. We chose to classify responses to these questions by categories of human needs (Alderfer, 1972). Events fell for the most part into relatedness or growth categories; on a few occasions they were both coded.

Rule 1. The relatedness category is used when significant others are described by the respondent. In recognizing that significant others as part of the event, the coder also determines the broad class to which the others belong:

- a. peers are other students or same-aged friends, e.g., a roommate;
- b. authorities are teachers, parents, administrators, i.e., adults;
- and
- c. the system refers to collective sets of peers and authorities such as the school, one's dormitory, or one's floor in the dormitory.

Rule 2. The growth category is used when the event concerns the person's enhancement, diminishment, differentiation, simplification or integration. Growth was further differentiated according to area:

- a. physical when the use of one's body was the primary activity, e.g., athletics or sculpture;
- b. intellectual where the use of one's mind was the central activity, e.g., academic work, writing for the school paper, etc.; and

- c. emotional where one's mental health was involved, e.g., sense of well-being, attitude toward life, etc.

Rule 3. Relationship and growth events were also scored according to sign:

- a. positive when the individual described an unequivocally positive event, e.g., "I learned to use the English language in new and exciting ways."
- b. mixed when the individual described an event that had both costs and benefits, e.g., "I was abused for being small, and as a consequence learned to stand up for my own rights more effectively."
- c. negative when the individual described an unequivocally negative event, e.g., "I saw a teacher taunt one of the younger students."

Two coders working independently found that they were able to use this system at the reliability shown in Table 5-1.

Insert Table 5-1 about here.

2. Results. From the data in Table 5-2 the area of greatest student pain can be located. The relatedness category produced more negative and mixed responses than the growth category for both questions. Within the relatedness category, events associated with the system produced more pain than events associated with peers or authorities. Growth experiences in physical, intellectual, and emotional areas were positive on the whole and substantially more positive than the experiences relating to others. One-on-one relations with peers and faculty were more positive outcomes than interactions with the system.

The sector of school life providing most trouble for students was their relationship with the system. Intellectual development through academic

Table 5-1

CODING RELIABILITY FOR SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

	n	%	Tau
Agreement on need category	40	94	.90
Agreement on focus within need	120	77	.83
Agreement on sign	240	64	.85
Total agreement	240	58	.82

activities, physical enhancement through athletics and other extracurricular activities, and one-on-one relations with peers and authorities offer predominantly positive outcomes. These results are consistent with our initial impression that academic excellence, faculty dedication, and student intelligence co-existed in a painful human system.

 Insert Table 5-2 about here.

B. Attitudes and Relationships as a Function of System Boundaries

The concept of boundary is important for understanding human systems. Boundaries define what a system is from what it is not; specify what is inside the and what is outside, and serve to regulate input and output. It is possible to distinguish between the concrete physio-temporal boundaries and subjective psychological boundaries (Miller, 1959; Alderfer, 1973). In the present study we attend to three forms of physio-temporal boundaries: residence, time during the school year, and year at school. Analyses based on residence compared "day" and "boarding" students. The school was assumed to be more closed for those who boarded than for those who did not. The external boundary of the school was more permeable for a day student than for a boarding student. Two forms of temporal boundaries existed: (1) each school year had a defined time for beginning and ending, and (2) an individual's school career could last up to four years.

1. Attitudes: Satisfaction, Involvement, and Growth. Three measures were employed to assess the effects of system boundaries on student attitudes. The questionnaire items and the results of a principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation are shown in Table 5-3 (Brown, 1971). Factor I consists of those items pertaining to satisfaction with life at the school. Factor II contains those items dealing with involvement with

TABLE 5-2
RESPONSES TO SIGNIFICANT EVENTS QUESTIONS*

1. You have done	2. Happened to you		
	Negative	Mixed	Positive
Relationships			
Peers	1% (1)	9% (8)	34% (32) Total 44% (41)
Authorities	1% (1)	5% (5)	8% (7) 14% (13)
System	9% (7)	19% (17)	16% (15) 42% (39)
Total	10% (9)	32% (30)	58% (54) 100% (93)
Growth			
Physical	1% (1)	3% (3)	27% (28) 31% (32)
Intellectual	1% (1)	7% (7)	29% (30) 37% (38)
Emotional	1% (1)	2% (2)	29% (30) 32% (33)
Total	3% (3)	12% (12)	35% (68) 100% (103)

* Frequencies are shown in parentheses. Percentages within tables are based on table totals. Statistical tests were not employed because categories were not completely independent.

the school. Factor III assesses a person's growth from academic activities (Alderfer, 1972). The factor analytic results indicate that the item content of the three scales approximate simple structure: a given item has a relatively high loading on one and only one scale. It is plausible to assume that the three measures define different variables.

 Insert Table 5-3 about here.

Figures 5-1 and 5-2 show the results of analyzing satisfaction as a function of the boundary variables. There were significant effects for both year at school and time during the school year but not for residence. Students declined steadily in satisfaction during their first two years at the school with life at the school. In the third year the decline leveled off, and turned upward toward the end of the fourth year. There were some indications that all of the curves turned upward at the end of the school year.

School years at Gaight were divided into three terms: fall, winter, and spring. The drop in satisfaction for the first, second, and fourth years was greatest during the winter term. When one looks at the temporal boundaries of the school year, it is apparent that these boundaries are most closed during the winter term, a period that is most distant from both entry to and exit from the school year. Furthermore, as a result of relatively severe winter weather students were more physically confined within the institution in winter than at any other time during the year. Third year students experienced their largest drop in satisfaction during the fall. "School-year wise," this term was not the most closed, but "school-career wise," this term was the mid point.

Temporal boundaries in this system have the strongest effect on satisfaction when students are most distant from exit or entry. The

Table 5- 3

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF SATISFACTION,
INVOLVEMENT, AND ACADEMIC GROWTH

Questionnaire Items	Factor Loadings		
	I	II	III
I am highly satisfied with my experience at Gaight.	.62	.32	.32
I am very much dissatisfied with my experience at Gaight.	-.51	-.30	-.35
I have often thought about leaving Gaight permanently.	-.87	-.16	-.12
I have never thought about leaving Gaight permanently.	.88	.01	.10
I am really pretty apathetic about my life at Gaight.	-.18	-.78	-.14
The most important things happening in my life involve Gaight.	.17	.58	.22
I am personally very much involved in the Gaight community.	.04	.75	-.04
I feel alienated from the Gaight community.	-.36	-.44	-.26
I have an opportunity to use many of my abilities in my academic activities at Gaight.	.03	.13	.78
My major abilities are seldom needed in my academic activities.	-.11	-.09	-.82
I seldom get the feeling of learning new things from my academic activities.	-.21	-.06	-.74
My academic activities have helped me to see some talents I never knew I had.	.10	.06	.41

highest satisfaction for each class came in September before they entered the school. Each year started higher than the preceding year's finish. Perhaps there was a resilience effect from being away from school. The approach of graduation was associated with the largest upturn in satisfaction.

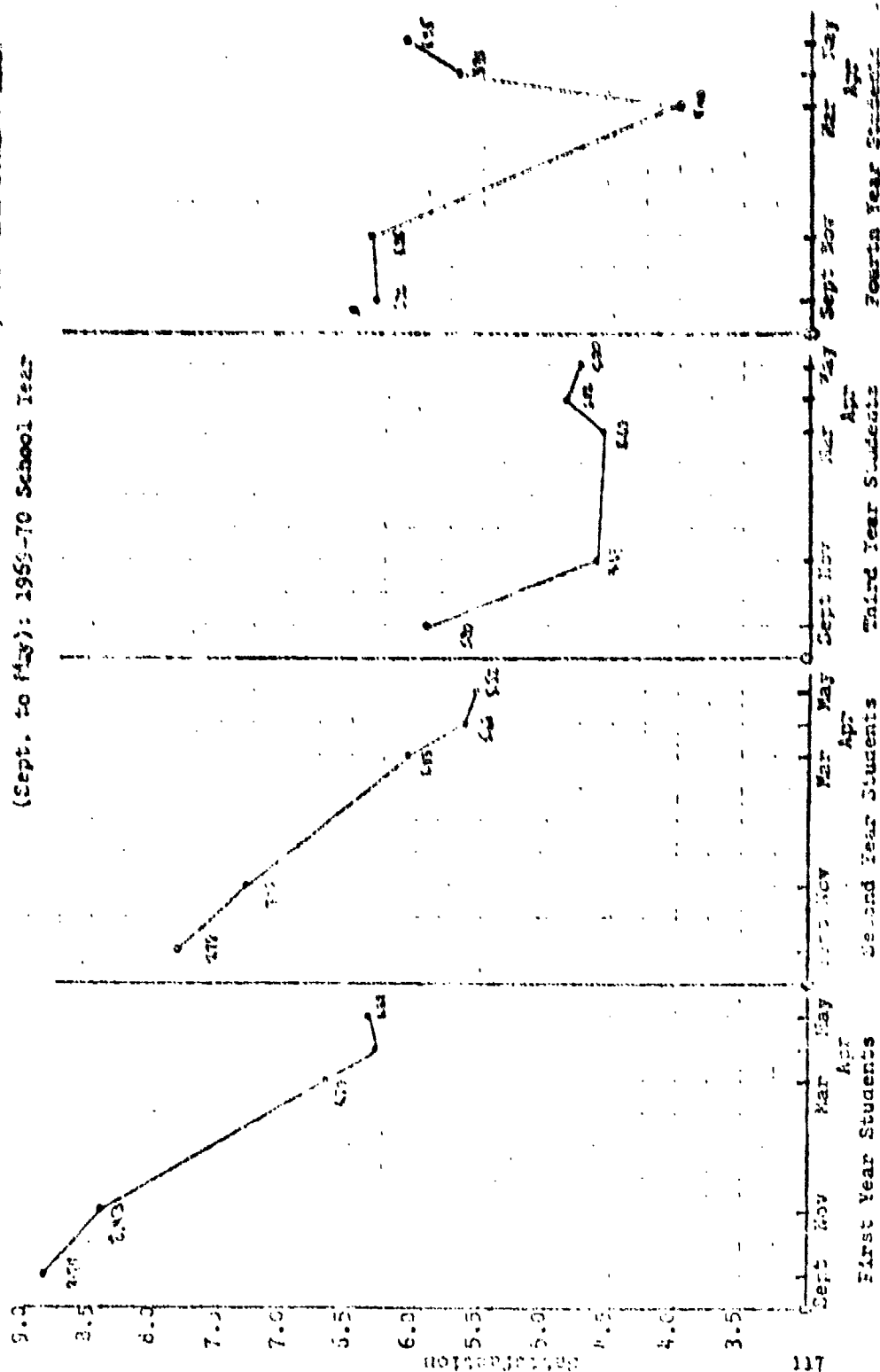
 Insert Figures 5-1 and 5-2 about here.

Figures 5-3 and 5-4 analyze involvement as a function of the boundary variables. Each boundary variable affected involvement. First year student involvement dropped sharply during the year and turned up slightly during the last month. This same pattern continued for second year students, although the decrease over the academic year was not as great. Third year students showed no change over time. Fourth year students showed a large drop during the winter term and a sharp rise during the spring. Boarding students experienced greater overall involvement throughout the year than day students, but both groups showed a pattern of steadily decreasing involvement coupled with a slight upturn at the end of the year.

Residing in the school contributes to a greater sense of involvement. The passage of time, despite residence, enhanced student alienation, until there was some "light visible at the end of the tunnel." Students are more involved in the system if they board, but involvement decreased with time in the system. To the extent that one can generalize to other school years from the data collected, there is evidence that being out of the system during the summer increases subsequent involvement. The more day and boarding students were bounded by the system, the less involved they felt. Closed time boundaries may lead people to withdraw from each other.

 Insert Figures 5-3 and 5-4 about here.

FIGURE S-1 SATISFACTION AS A FUNCTION OF YEAR AT SCHOOL (FIRST TO FOURTH) AND TIME DURING YEAR (Sept. to May): 1959-70 School Year

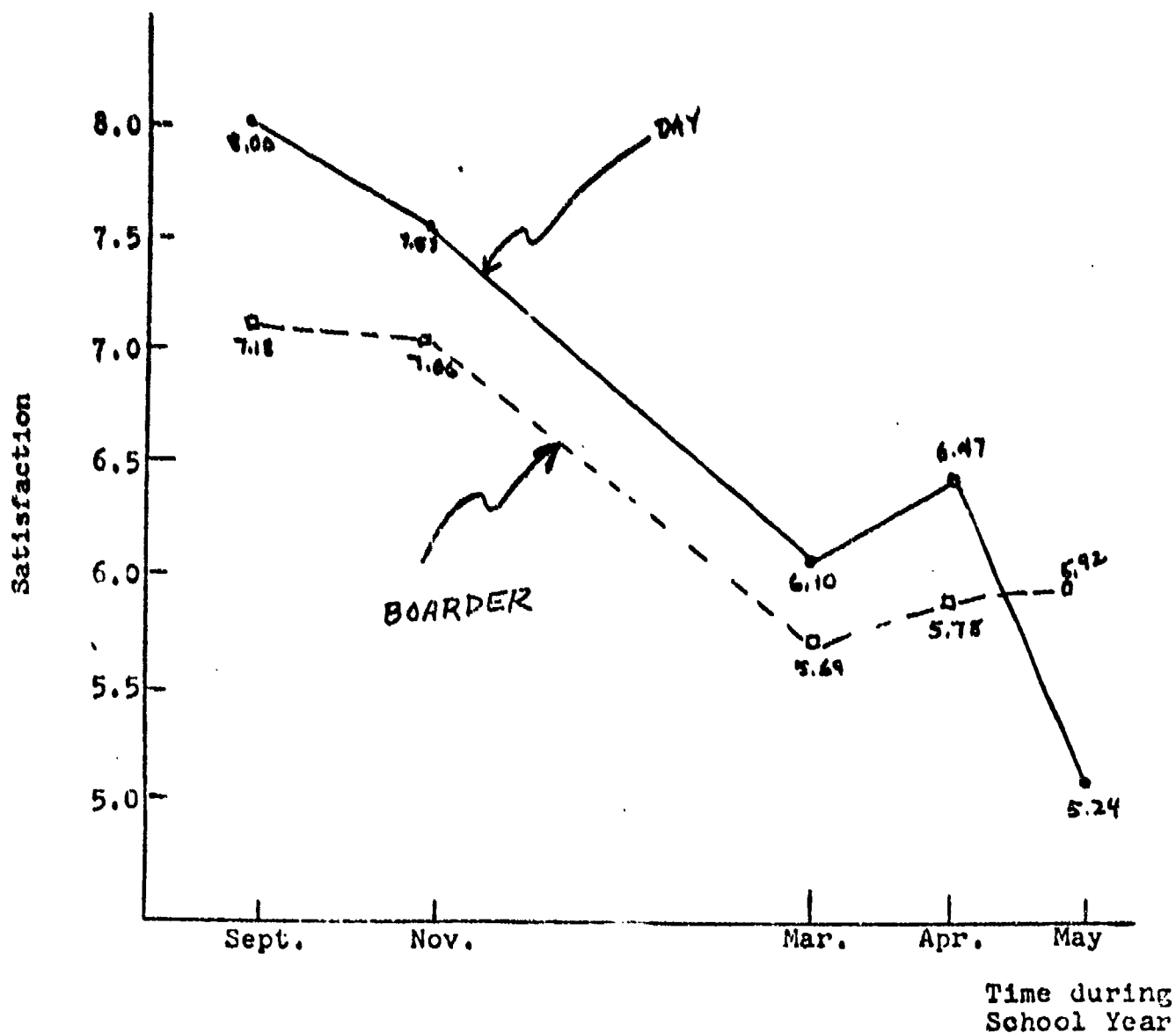


* Difference among Years at School, $p < .01$, $F (d.f. = 3, 205) = 14.8$

** Difference among Months during Year, $p < .01$, $F (d.f. = 4, 506) = 7.35$

FIGURE 9-2

SATISFACTION AS A FUNCTION OF TIME DURING SCHOOL YEAR*
FOR DAY AND BOARDING STUDENTS**: 1969-70 SCHOOL YEAR

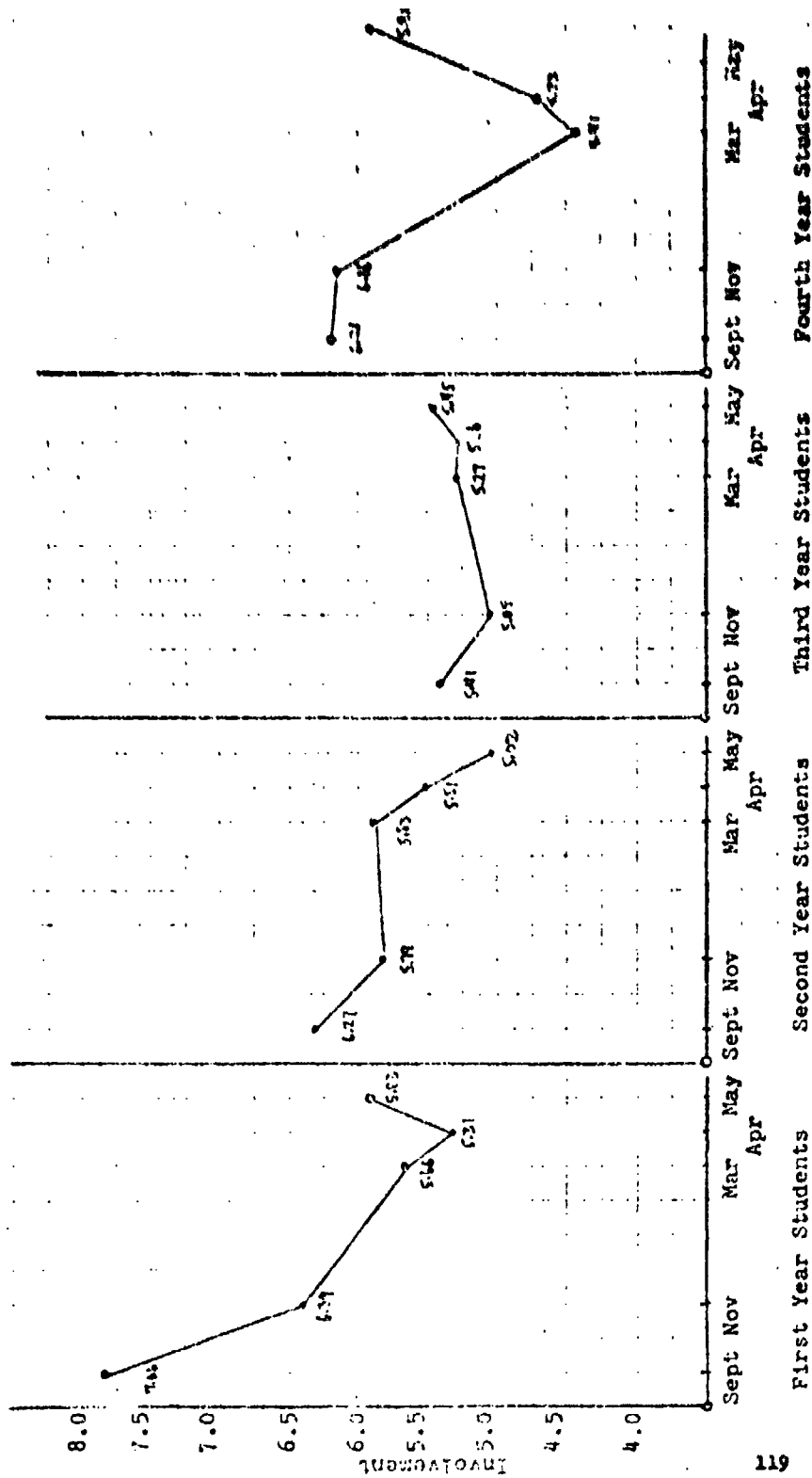


* Difference among Months during Year, $p < .01$, $F(4, 914) = 3.89$

** Difference between Types of Residence, n.s.

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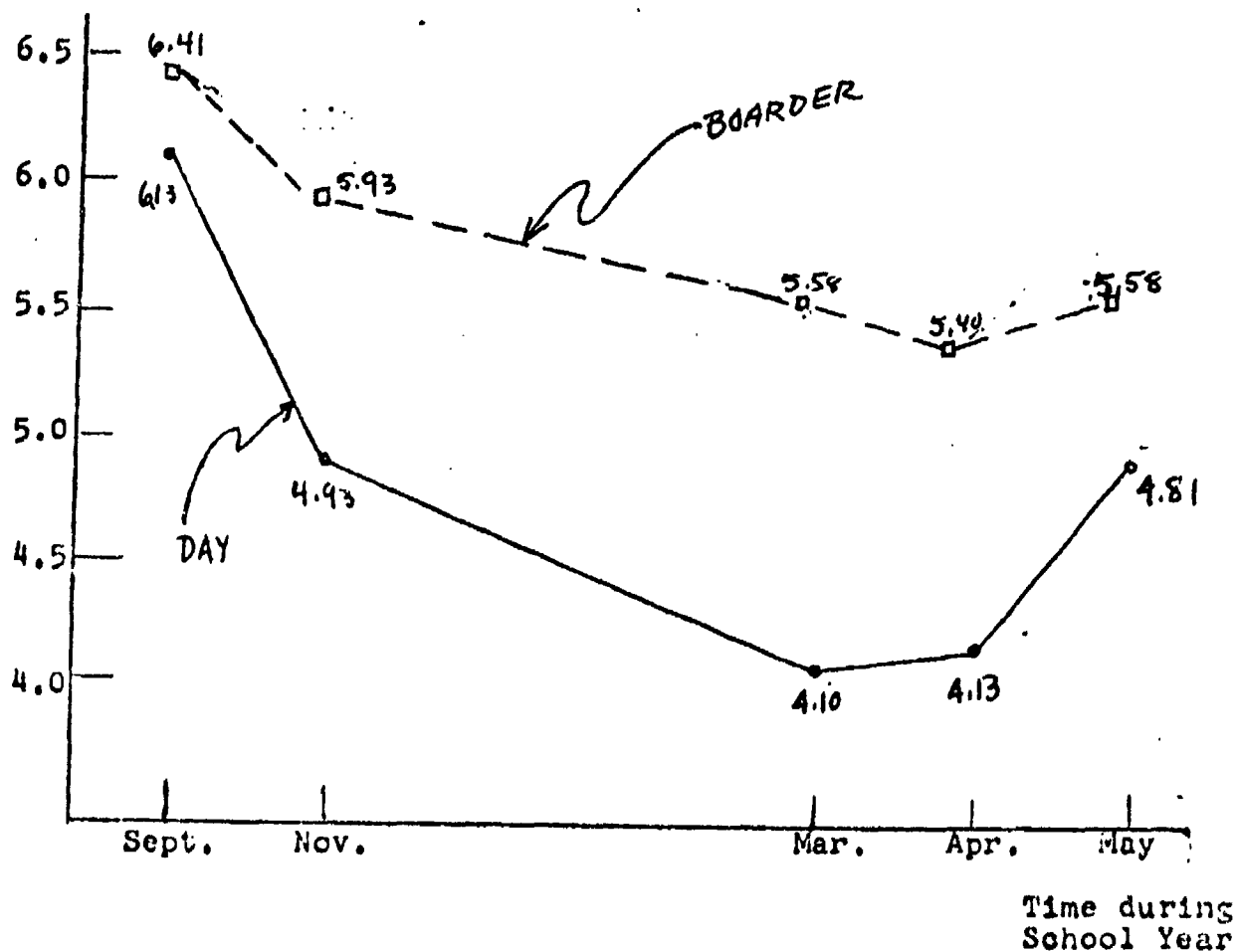
FIGURE 5-3
INVOLVEMENT AS A FUNCTION OF YEAR AT SCHOOL* (first to fourth)
AND TIME DURING YEAR** (Sept. to May):
1969-70 SCHOOL YEAR



* Difference among Years at School, $p < .05$, $F(d.f. = 3, 882) = 3.27$
 ** Difference among Months during year, $p < .01$, $F(d.f. = 4, 882) = 4.19$

FIGURE 5-4

INVOLVEMENT AS A FUNCTION OF TIME*
DURING SCHOOL YEAR FOR DAY AND BOARDING STUDENTS**;
1969-70 SCHOOL YEAR



* Difference among Months during Year, $p < .10$, $F (d.f. = 4, 891) = 2.74$
 ** Difference between Types of Residence, $p < .01$, $F (d.f. = 1, 891) = 8.59$

Despite their factor analytic "purity" there is something similar about satisfaction and involvement. Both are relatively non-specific effective dimensions running from very positive to very negative, relevant almost to any social system. Research has shown that they differ in volatility; satisfaction changes more quickly than involvement (Alderfer and Lodhal, 1971). In Gaight it was possible for a person or group to be simultaneously highly involved and very dissatisfied.

Satisfaction and involvement were used in this study because they are indicators of one's total experience with a system. While we decided not to study academic life at Gaight, we were interested in the effects of system boundaries on the subjective side of academic life. Tables 5-5 and 5-6 contain the results of analyzing growth from academic activities as a function of system boundaries. The sense of academic growth steadily decreases for first and second year students during the school year. There was little change for third year students, and fourth year students showed both a sharp decrease from November to March and a sharp increase from March to April. Each group showed some tendency for the students' sense of growth to increase as the school year came to an end.

Growth satisfaction was reported to see whether there was any carry-over effect from the non-academic to the academic. The similarities in the curves for the three variables imply the existence of such carryover effects. But in research of this kind one must always be wary of response biases; although the three scales showed substantial independence in factor analysis, they were administered at the same point in time and shared common method variance. The data in Figure 5-6 indicate that day students experienced more growth from their academic activities than boarding students, although both groups experienced a steady decline as the school year passed. It is reasonable to conclude that the "system effects" carryover to the subjective

side of academic life despite the danger of methodological artifacts. Being in the system results in students feeling less academic growth work as time passes. Those partially outside the system experience less of this carryover.

 Insert Figures 5-5 and 5-6 about here.

2. Sarcasm. Smith's (1969) review of the literature proposed that relatively closed human systems are associated with dysfunctional and dissatisfying interpersonal relationships. One of the first things we noted about the Gaight School was a high degree of sarcasm. Students and faculty called this phenomenon "cutting people down."

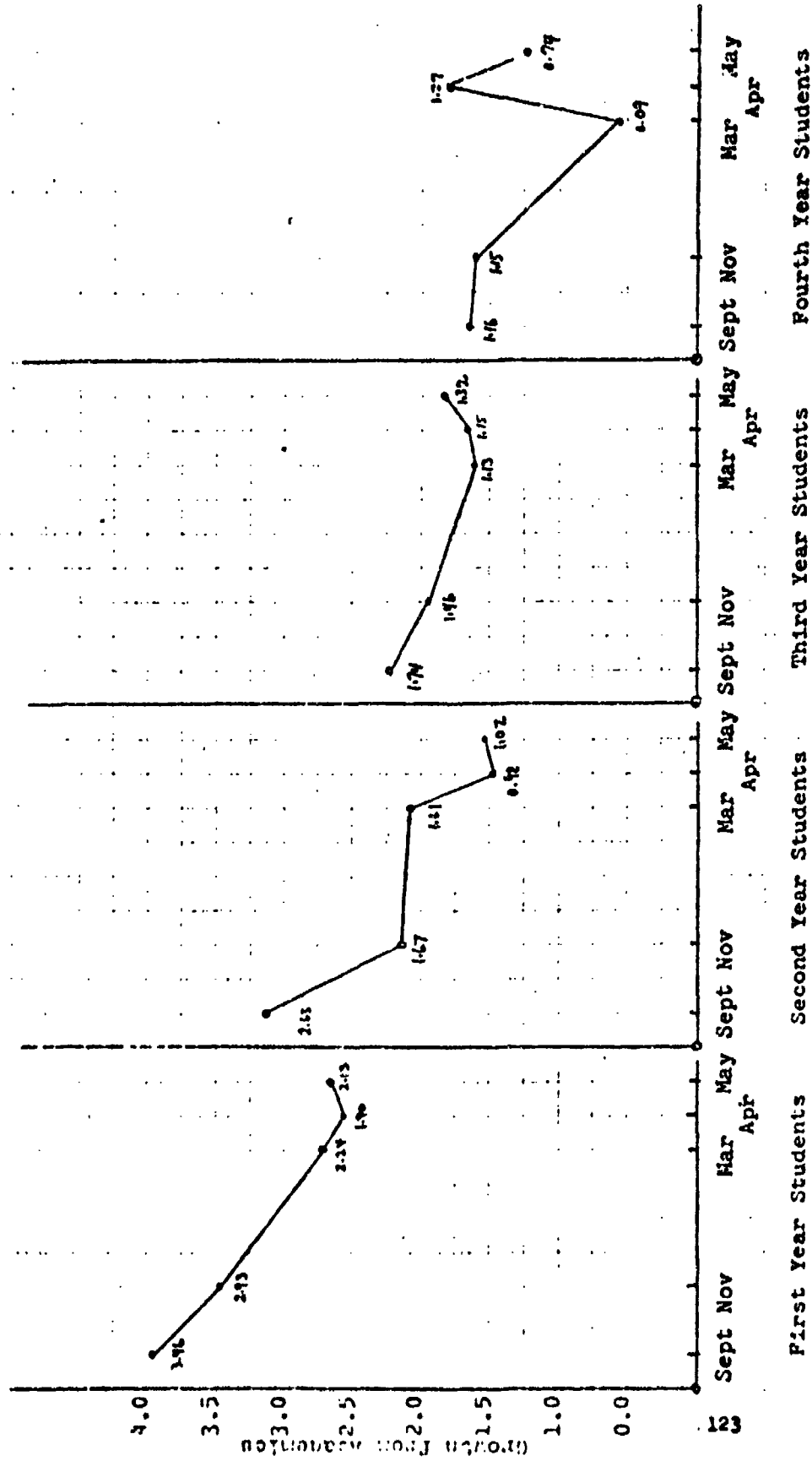
Table 5-4 shows the distribution of community responses across a five-point sarcasm scale. Seventy-two percent of those responding thought that the amount of sarcasm in the school was high or very high.

 Insert Table 5-4 about here.

Figure 6-7 shows how two measures of sarcasm varied as a function of year at the school for students. There were significant differences among students in the level of sarcasm they perceived. The high point in perceived sarcasm came in the third year at school. The sarcasm level as perceived by students increased from first to second to third year, and decreased in the fourth year. Sarcasm as a function of year at school is a mirror image of satisfaction, involvement and growth. The second curve in Figure 6-7 reports student perceptions of sarcasm level change from the previous year. A value of 3 was "no change", while ratings of 4 or 5 indicated increases and 1 or 2 decreases. The instructions asked new people to compare their perceptions of sarcasm at Gaight with their previous school. The "perceived change" curve shows two departures from what is

FIGURE 5-5

GROWTH FROM ACADEMIC WORK AS A FUNCTION OF YEAR AT SCHOOL* (First to Fourth)
AND TIME DURING YEAR** (Sept. to May):
1969-70 SCHOOL YEAR

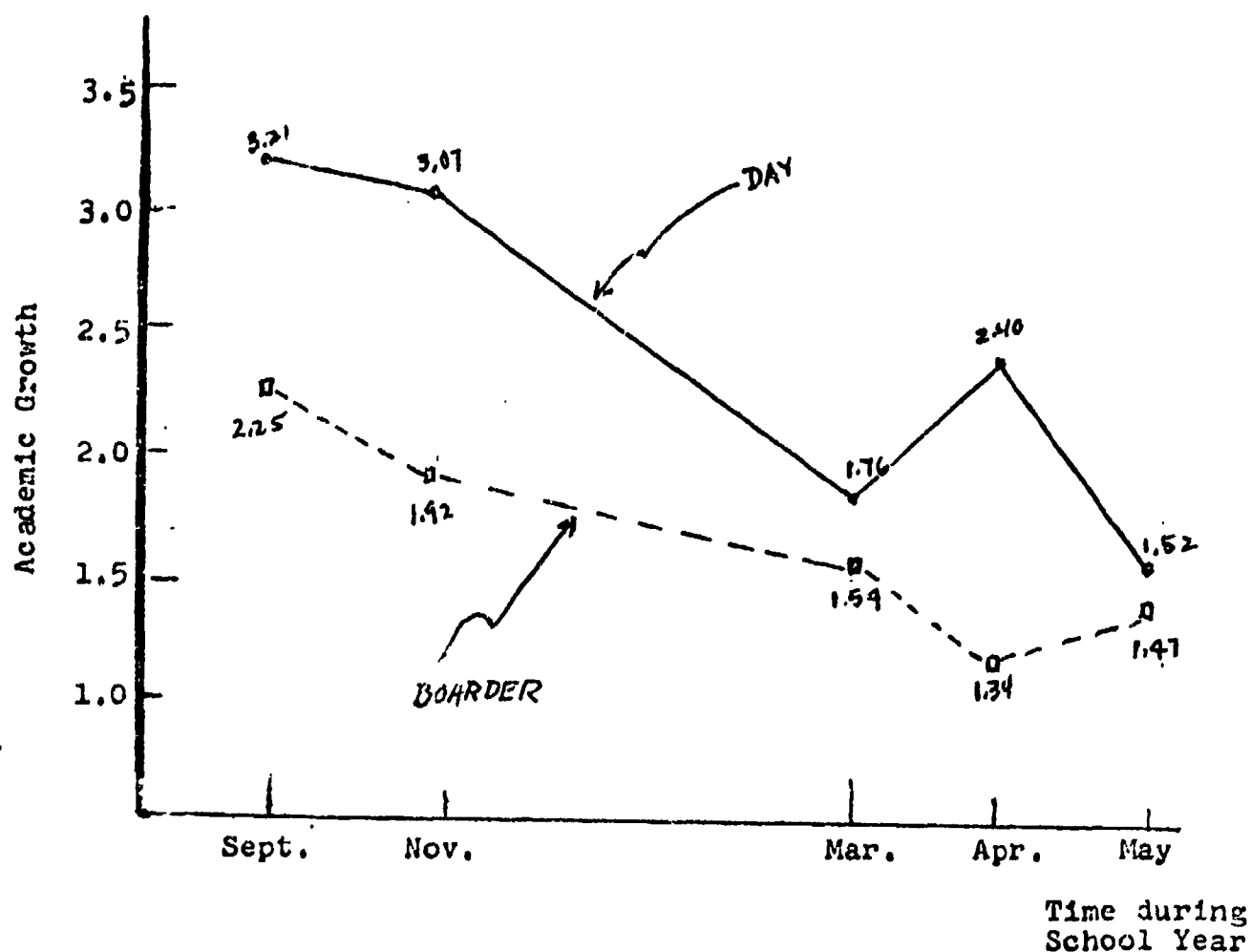


* Difference among Years at School, $p < .01$, $F (d.f. = 3, 899) = 17.77$

**Difference among Months during Year, $p < .01$, $F (d.f. = 4, 899) = 5.44$

FIGURE 5-6

ACADEMIC GROWTH AS A FUNCTION OF TIME DURING SCHOOL YEAR*
FOR DAY AND BOARDING STUDENTS**:
1969-70 SCHOOL YEAR



* Difference among Months during Year, $p < .05$, $F(d.f. = 4, 908) = 3.1$
** Difference between Types of Residence, $p < .01$, $F(d.f. = 1, 908) = 10.1$

Table 5-4

AMOUNT OF SARCASM IN COMMUNITY

Fall 1969

(all responses, n = 371)

	Number	Percentage
Very low	5	1
Low	8	2
Moderate	56	15
High	140	38
Very high	162	44

otherwise an indication of stability in the amount of sarcasm. First year students perceived an increase in sarcasm over their preceding year's experience, and fourth year students perceived a decrease. Fourth year students' perceptions were consistent with the decrease in sarcasm from the third to fourth year at the school. First year student perceptions fit with our view that closed system boundaries contribute to sarcastic human relationships.¹

Insert Figure 5-7 about here.

Lay and professional analyses of schools look at academic achievement as the primary variable of concern rather than the boundary analysis we have used. Table 5-5 indicates that there was little association between the attitude and human relationship measures and Grade Point Averages at the Gaight School. Academic performance was largely independent or irrelevant to the various measures of subjective human response, although feelings about academic activities were affected.

Insert Table 5-5 about here.

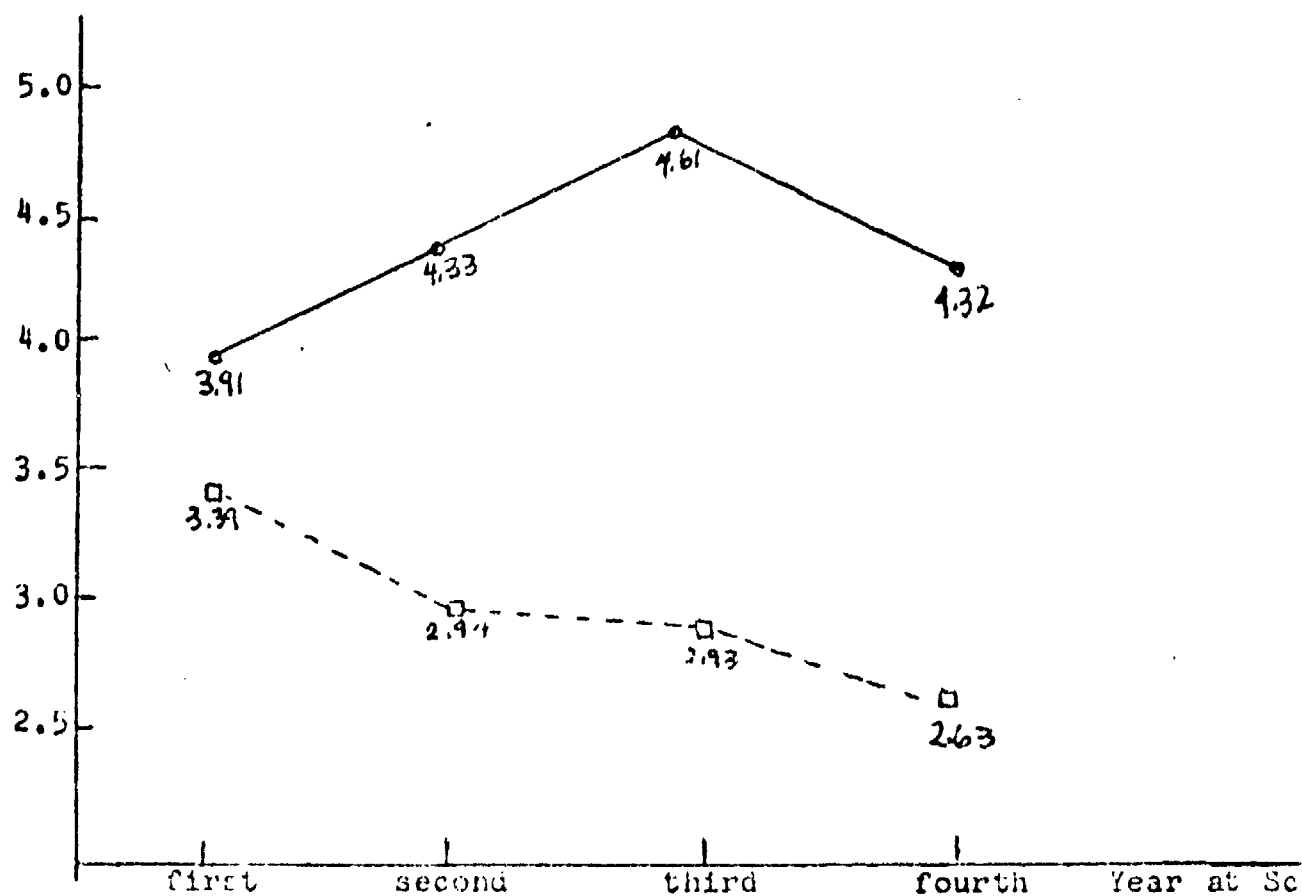
C. Sarcasm as a Function of Significant Human Relationships

The theory of boundaries and relationships in human systems proposes a parallelism between the relationships inside a system and those outside (Alderfer, 1974). The high level of sarcasm in the Gaight community implied that there was little mutuality in the school. There was a real

¹ Measures of sarcasm were taken only once, in November. We are thus not in a position of being able to draw curves of sarcasm as a function of time during the school year. It was possible to compare the perceptions of day and boarding students on the amount of sarcasm, and while the boarding students reported more than the day students, as expected, these differences were not statistically significant.

FIGURE 5- 7

AMOUNT OF SARCASM AS A FUNCTION OF YEAR AT SCHOOL



* Difference among Years at School, $p < .001$, $F (d.f. = 3, 293) = 9.71$
 **Difference among Years at School, $p < .001$, $F (d.f. = 3, 244) = 5.98$

Table 5-5

CORRELATIONS OF GRADE POINT AVERAGE
WITH ATTITUDE AND HUMAN RELATIONSHIP MEASURES IN 1969

(n = 210)

Satisfaction	.10
Involvement	.12
Growth from academics	.13
Amount of sarcasm	.05
Change in sarcasm	.07

question whether some people at the school were able to conceive of alternatives to human relations through gamelike put-downs. Nevertheless there was evidence of some satisfying relationships among individuals at the school. These more satisfying relationships grew informally in one-to-one constellations. Most students spoke warmly of friendships with one or two peers and with a few faculty. Most faculty members had one or two trusted colleagues in the system. But there was little evidence that the formally organized activities of the school provided satisfying relationships for participants.

1. Measures of Mutually Rewarding Relationships. To examine the constructive side of human relationships and to explore the linkage between internal and external relationships, we developed a series of mutuality scales. Respondents were asked to rate a list of significant others on three traits: influence on me, influence by me, and helps me. (See Table 5-6.) The list provided several opportunities for respondents to add significant others who were not specifically identified on the instrument. All ratings were then intercorrelated, factor analysed, and rotated according to the varimax procedure. We were especially interested to see whether relationships with significant others would be defined in mutual ways, or whether some people would be identified primarily as giving influence and others as receiving influence.

Results shown in Table 5-6 indicate that the significant relationships defined by the factor analysis were mutual. Factors were identified by one or more significant others, and each factor had high loadings on all three scales. The alternative interpretation--of a series of one-way relationships--would have been upheld if the factors instead had been defined by showing loadings on only one of the three scales. Eight interpretable factors emerged from the analysis: outsiders, administrators,

parental figures, corridor masters, chaplain, school peers, athletes, and powerful students.

Insert Table 5-6 about here.

2. Mutuality and Sarcasm. Table 5-7 shows the correlations between the mutuality scales and the two sarcasm measures. Two of sixteen correlations were significant at the .01 level. Both of these related sarcasm and mutuality with significant others outside the school. The higher the mutuality with outsiders, the lower the level of sarcasm reported, and the more sarcasm was perceived as decreasing. This finding is consistent with the prediction that internal and external relationships in a system tend to be similar. The implication for system change is that if outsiders can establish mutual relationships with students, then the degree of sarcasm within the system may be reduced. None of the relationships internal to the system demonstrated a significant association with sarcasm. There seemed to be little relief from sarcasm by human relationships from within the organization.

Insert Table 5-7 about here.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Quantitative results suggest that the closed nature of the Gaight School has deleterious human consequences for many of its students. In contrast to the academic and extracurricular sectors of student life, human interactions were a source of negative experience. The severity of these outcomes became worse as a student became more deeply embedded in the organization. Boarding students reported more dissatisfaction and alienation than day students. The middle of a school year and the middle of a

TABLE 5-6

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF INFLUENCE AND HELP

Factors	I Outsiders	II Adminis- trators	III Parental Figures	IV Corridor Masters	V Chaplain	VI School Pairs	VII Athletes	VIII Powerful Students
<u>Influence on Me</u>								
Administrators	-02	52	-05	46	-19	14	04	12
Headmaster	06	60	-08	32	01	10	00	16
Asst. Headmaster	05	35	-09	12	-24	06	-44	10
Dean	-09	34	-02	28	03	20	02	22
Chaplain	10	16	16	10	-04	05	09	04
Other	38	-02	-09	15	05	-05	-71	11
Faculty	02	13	23	56	-12	16	00	33
Corridor Masters	13	02	10	60	16	11	-16	06
Advisors	01	12	-52	13	-12	-05	-04	17
Coaches	06	06	15	07	13	22	-72	14
Other	60	-19	29	42	-10	-01	-39	33
Students	-03	04	02	13	00	35	04	59
Senior Officers	-11	04	04	26	-05	10	-13	62
Class Officers	02	28	12	-01	-04	09	-09	75
Friend 1	17	-13	08	06	14	66	-05	29
Friend 2	-08	10	03	02	-02	72	-04	23
Friend 3	-10	10	14	03	01	83	-02	08
Outsiders	44	18	23	-02	-29	12	21	35
Parents	11	-10	-71	07	01	06	-11	33
Former Schoolmates	06	10	09	05	-12	13	-03	09
Others Outside	84	12	21	14	09	13	-08	-02

Table 5-6 (continued - 1)

Influence by Me	Outsiders	Adminis- trators	Parental Figures	Corridor Masters	Chaplain	School Peers	Athletes	Powerful Students
Administrators	-09	73	12	08	-22	13	-03	-02
Headmaster	23	74	03	-14	-11	15	-02	08
Asst. Headmaster	04	64	-04	07	-20	03	-35	05
Dean	22	56	03	09	-15	17	05	17
Chaplain	14	25	-05	-12	-68	12	-08	20
Other	22	21	03	24	-32	-08	-59	-04
Faculty	-01	54	-05	15	-15	44	00	02
Corridor Masters	01	35	05	44	11	22	-08	18
Advisors	00	29	-29	-02	14	18	-08	02
Coaches	-07	32	-24	-12	18	39	-52	09
Other	51	38	12	15	24	-62	-19	19
Students	12	14	04	06	-17	47	-13	36
Senior Officers	13	27	19	07	-12	28	-17	35
Class Officers	09	48	-17	11	-02	14	-19	62
Friend 1	11	-03	-13	13	03	60	-14	15
Friend 2	11	12	-24	12	-02	70	-04	-01
Friend 3	07	31	-08	-04	02	73	-14	-04
Outsiders	54	11	-08	-01	-44	20	09	26
Parents	09	14	-65	08	-17	30	-15	04
Former Schoolmates	09	17	-04	00	-16	27	-05	17
Others Outside	80	05	04	-10	-17	15	02	-15

Table 5-6 (continued ~ 2)

	Outsiders	Adminis- trators	Parental Figures	Corridor Masters	Chaplain	School Peers	Athletes	Powerful Students
<u>Helps Me</u>								
Administrators	-15	54	-12	38	-27	01	-14	01
Headmaster	17	56	-11	15	-08	-07	-12	11
Asst. Headmaster	00	41	-04	07	-28	00	-58	02
Dean	15	36	-10	24	07	12	-05	19
Chaplain	08	29	-16	-02	-65	01	-05	17
Other	13	-10	02	31	-40	-07	-66	08
Faculty								
Corridor Masters	03	12	-36	42	-29	13	-19	27
Advisors	22	21	-22	64	-05	11	-20	-15
Coaches	14	05	-44	07	-15	-01	00	07
Other	00	05	-11	05	08	24	-78	09
	92	-15	03	17	-24	-02	-32	12
Students								
Senior Officers	21	01	-12	13	-20	32	-01	48
Class Officers	06	20	19	18	-27	17	-15	45
Friend 1	07	40	-26	01	01	17	-13	68
Friend 2	26	10	05	25	19	53	-13	19
Friend 3	11	16	03	09	45	54	-10	-03
	05	15	-02	09	-35	60	-21	-06
Outsiders								
Parents	63	26	15	00	-25	15	15	23
Former Schoolmates	10	06	-73	17	09	16	-07	00
Others Outside	08	17	00	07	-17	15	-13	09
	80	24	-23	01	04	-02	-21	17

TABLE 5-7

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MUTUALITY WITH SIGNIFICANT

OTHERS AND SARCASM

(n = 172, sample of half the school)

	Sarcasm	
	Amount	Previous
Outsiders	-.21**	-.24**
Administrators	-.12	-.11
Parental Figures	.03	-.14
Corridor Masters	-.06	-.10
Chaplain	-.06	-.08
School Peers	.09	-.07
Athletes	-.03	-.07
Powerful Students	.04	-.08

** p < .01

person's school career generally marked low points of morale and motivation. Tension ridden interpersonal relationships, marked by sarcastic interaction, were characteristic of the school and related to time and residence. Mutual relationships with significant others in the school offered no relief from the pains of sarcasm. But individuals who reported mutuality with significant others outside the school also reported less sarcasm inside the system. In short, system boundaries and human relationships explained significant amounts of variance in the human reactions that were outputs of the Gaight experience for students.

Results reported in this chapter also support the hypothesis that the Gaight School is a confining ("total institution") human system. The findings developed here have much in common with the data from prisons, mental hospitals, and small groups in isolation cited at the outset of this chapter. The human problems of the Gaight School, in this sense, were not unique to this organization. They were predictable from the concepts of open systems theory. Our results are relevant both to diagnosing the human problems of the Gaight School and to expanding basic understanding of closed human systems. Open systems theory is more operationally useful for organizational research today than when we began this study.

Chapter Six

THE EFFECT OF GAIGHT ON A GROUP

A small group of seniors exert extraordinary power over students at the Gaight School. These prefects are elected by members of the senior class to serve as their class committee. But they are far more than a governing group for their own class; they are also police, jury, and sometimes rulemakers for the entire student body.

The role of prefect is highly complex, challenging, and frustrating. To be selected for prefectship is an honor. It includes elements of popularity, academic success, and extracurricular achievement. In a school whose primary purpose is to enable each graduate to gain admission to the college of his choice, being a prefect increases a person's competitive edge. As one man put it, "It's a nice thing to put on your 'brag sheet.'"

The degree to which all class committee members are the elite of the Gaight student body is shown by the data in Table 6-1. Class committee members have higher grades, and report greater mutuality with both authority and peer groups. It is important to note the exceptions to this statement as well as the general pattern; the prefects do not report greater mutuality with corridor masters or parental figures. It was the top of the system (administration officials, powerful students, and the chaplain) with whom they had especially strong relationships, not the "middle".

Insert Table 6-1 about here.

But high status was not all that came to a prefect. Like no other person in the school (including the faculty) a prefect held power over the organizational life and death of his peers. His choice about whether and

Table 6-1

CLASS COMMITTEE MEMBERS COMPARED
TO OTHER STUDENTS ON GRADES AND HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS^a

	Class Committee Members	Other Students
Grade Point Average ^{**}	2.71	2.11
Mutuality with Administrators [*]	19.36	16.23
Mutuality with Parental Figures ^b	24.07	22.77
Mutuality with Corridor Masters ^b	10.32	10.42
Mutuality with Chaplain [*]	9.35	7.03
Mutuality with School Peers [*]	42.21	38.88
Mutuality with Athletes ^{**}	35.67	30.56
Mutuality with Powerful Students ^{**}	35.37	28.58

^{*} difference between Class Committee Members and other students significant at .05 level

^{**} difference between Class Committee Members and other students significant at .01 level

^b no significant differences between Class Committee Members and other students

^a The scales reported here are the same ones used to explain the prevalence of sarcasm in Chapter Five.

how to use this power strongly affected his classmates, other students, faculty members, and himself. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the impact of the prefectship on the people who fill the role and on the faculty members who share similar duties. What were the disparate pressures faced by these people? How did they cope with their dilemmas? What consequences followed from the diverse stances taken by the role incumbents?

I. PROCEDURES FOR DATA COLLECTION

Our methods for understanding the nature of the prefect group differed from those used for other sectors of school life. More than any other portion of this project, the study of this group demonstrated the joint payoff of combining action with research and of persisting in the pursuit of a difficult problem. The analysis of the prefects and their faculty counterparts, dormitory masters, extended through the four periods of the project. In this chapter we present the outcome of these four years of study, and in Chapter Eleven we give an account of the intervention attempts that were made with the group. Throughout the project there was a gradual increase in understanding from interviews with four successive sets of prefects and two groups of dormitory masters, and from the initial failures and later successes with intervention attempts.

Systematic study of the Gaight School began in the fall of 1969. At that time we interviewed several prefects individually and some in groups. The longer we remained in contact with the school, the more we appreciated the central place of and demanding nature of this role. We arranged to interview a subset of the 1969-70 prefects just after they left office; we hoped to use their reflections as a basis for a workshop with the 1970-71 group.

Following a policy of providing free choice about participation to individuals and groups we offered a workshop to the 1970-71 group. After two brief encounters they turned the workshop down, preferring to work without further outside intervention. After they had left office we asked if they would participate in interviews about their experience as a prefect; every person agreed.

Our understanding of the prefect role brought us to the conclusion that corridor masters played a central part in affecting and being affected by the prefects' role behavior. During the summer of 1971 interviews with corridor masters were arranged to obtain their perspectives on their own and the prefect's role.

In the fall of 1971 we attempted to intervene jointly with prefects and dormitory masters. For the most part this effort was positively received and a new era of understanding was begun. At the close of the 1971-72 academic year we once again attempted to interview the outgoing prefects, but this time only one student was willing to talk to the external consultant. This individual would have been the one that the consultants would have chosen had they been offered a choice. He provided a valuable account of the prefects' views of the year and of their reasons for not wanting to be interviewed. In contrast to the prefects, the faculty was more interested in being interviewed at the close of the 1971-72 year than they had been the preceding year. For the first time in the project, systematic diagnostic work was shared between internal and external consultants. One outcome of these efforts was that the prefect-dormitory master workshop was modified in design, repeated, and conducted solely by the internal consultant.

During the 1972-73 school year it was possible for the first time to interview the prefects during the school year. These data were collected

by the external consultant and provided a unique opportunity to compare the findings with understandings achieved in previous years. Feedback of the results was instrumental in bringing about a new design for the discipline system, which will be discussed in Chapter Ten.

II. PRIMARY TASKS OF THE PREFECTS

The prefects have a job to do, a series of tasks to perform for the Gaight School. One of their continuing dilemmas is that their role is not well defined. But no matter how much some prefects and faculty might wish that someone would clarify this tenuous position, we would argue that such clarification by fiat would not be realistic. What the prefect's role can be depends on who the prefects are, how key faculty and administration members respond to them, and on the choices made by the prefects, both individually and collectively. No single act or series of actions can simultaneously manage all these facets.

Despite the foregoing qualifications, there are several functions that prefects generally accept as their responsibilities. These primary tasks have a deceptive simplicity, but additional complexity enters when it is understood that for each task the prefect has a different set of external reference groups, that each individual prefect faced his own unique set of problems as a function of the dormitory conditions he faces, and that each prefect has his own style of managing conflicts. The primary tasks and reference groups may be stated as follows:

1. Enforce school rules. For this task the primary reference groups are the students and faculty who live in the dormitories where the prefects function.

2. Recommend penalties for people caught breaking school rules.

A prefect has a reference person for this task prior to any groups who

might enter into his awareness while he is trying to decide what to do. The individual who finds himself with disciplinary problems is always a source of concern to a prefect who is trying to decide what penalty is appropriate to recommend. Beyond the individual are his friends who undoubtedly "pull" for him to get as light a penalty as possible. In recommending penalties for rule violators, the prefects are placed in something of an adversarial relationship to the Faculty Discipline Committee who, subsequent to the prefects, also recommends a penalty for a given violator. According to the Gaight system, the final decision on such penalties is made by the headmaster, after he receives the recommendations of the two groups. In practice it was rare for the faculty and headmaster not to agree with the prefects' recommendations.

3. Change school rules. Although this part of the prefectural role is probably the greatest source of hope to the students, it is also their most difficult and complex mandate. To change the rules, the students must convince the faculty and administration, and they must come to terms with the groups outside the school itself--such as parents, police, and insurance companies--who also have a vested interest in the nature of the school rules.

A. Enforcement

One mythical character referred to in student and faculty discussions of the prefect role was the "traditional" prefect. This individual came from a different age--usually the 1950's and earlier--and he had no doubts about the rule enforcement function of a prefect. If he found a person breaking a school rule, he reported him. Confronted with the physical evidence of rule-breaking a traditional prefect experienced no dilemmas: his duty was to report rule violators and that he did, without ambivalence

or hesitation. If there ever was such a person, he did have a choice about reporting rule violators, but he differed from contemporary prefects in that he did not experience that choice as psychologically real.

The current prefect, however, does know that he has a choice about reporting rule violators, and he struggles mightily with each decision. In the process he differentiates among various kinds of school rules. Roughly speaking there are three classes of rules.

The first class consists of directives about corridor behavior that affect physical, spatial, and noise factors. Most prefects believe that people should respect each other's rights, and they try to see that members of their corridors follow the spirit of these rules, though individual prefects vary in the frequency with which they dispense penalties for violations.

The second class of prohibitions pertains to "major school rules," violation of which can be grounds for dismissal or suspension. Drinking and using drugs are the two prohibited activities which cause the most trouble. Prefects feel caught between what is good for the institution and what is good for the individual. They frequently believe that unchecked drinking or use of drugs can undermine the educational mission of the school. Yet they also feel that the severity of the penalties for these offenses can hurt the individual more than his behavior harms either him or the school community. Because of this dilemma, it is a rare prefect who turns in anyone for violation of a major school rule. What does happen is that the enforcement function is redefined to become counseling. The monitor tries to persuade the offender to violate the rules less often and more discretely.

The third class of rules pertains to stealing and cheating. Of all the school rules, these rules are most widely accepted as useful. Prefects,

and students generally, value trust very highly, and they feel that students who cheat and steal seriously jeopardize whatever trust exists in the school.

For the most part dormitory masters see their primary mission as helping to create and maintain a dormitory climate where people can live together in some harmony. Usually this means attempting to infuse the students with some respect for the rights and sensitivities of other people. Most issues arise in connection with cleaning rooms, keeping noise within manageable limits, and preventing dormitories from being converted into athletic fields. Dormitory masters who have lived in both lower school (ninth and tenth grade) and upper school (eleventh and twelfth grade) dormitories emphasize the differences. Maintaining order is more of a problem for the younger students, who are inclined to play stickball and hockey in the corridors. Older students are more tempted by alcohol, drugs, and visiting with members of the opposite sex.

Faculty members predictably are more inclined to enforce major school rules than prefects. But faculty members also experience agony and mental anguish when they are confronted by a violation of a major school rule and must decide what to do. An important factor in the minds of many corridor masters is their prediction that any lapse with respect to violations "will become known" quickly in the corridor, and social control will become more difficult. Masters, as well as students, report that they sometimes avoid places where rule-breaking took place. Students reported that some masters took part in smoking and drinking with students, and during the study one master was fired from Gaith for just this practice.

B. Punishment

When a student is apprehended for breaking a school rule, the prefects deliberated about how he should be treated. This is not a task which the

student leaders enjoy. It is a role that asks them to pass judgment on other students, who, in the case of seniors, may be their peers. As he discusses the appropriate penalty for a student who has been caught breaking a rule, a prefect knows of others who have done the same thing (perhaps other prefects, perhaps himself) and do not face the threat of penalty. How can he be fair to this individual who has been "screwed" (a word that was used again and again to characterize anyone who had been turned in for breaking rules)? Students asserted, and experienced faculty members confirmed, that it was often the inexperienced offender whose acts led him to be turned in for disciplinary action rather than the perpetual rule breaker. How can the prefect face his own doubts if he has broken rules or has not turned in others who have broken the same rule? How can he face the violator who probably knows these same things? What does he do about the stance taken by other monitors who face similar questions? These are not easy problems, of course, and the psychic pain they cause is not easily tolerated. A rare person may resign his prefect role while many others psychologically withdraw (and consider resigning) as the year progresses, the suffering increases, and better resolutions do not arise.

Faced with such pressures, prefects frequently abandon any effort to straddle the boundary between the school authorities and the students. They simply define themselves as student advocates and attempt to protect their fellows from the harsh hand of the Establishment. Some prefects adopt a personal policy of always recommending the most lenient penalty for any rule violation. Others attempt to take the "personal" aspect out of rule violations by arguing each case on the basis of precedent. The more politically astute students came to realize, however, that a stance of always seeking the most lenient penalty soon loses them credibility with school authorities. To combat this problem, students learn the arguments which

administration and Faculty Discipline Committee members accept and then adapt their "reasons" for a penalty in any given case to meet these criteria. A side effect of this approach was that some students experience yet another kind of "hypocrisy": they do not argue for what they feel to be truth or fairness, but rather use a logic to achieve certain ends. Asked what he had learned from being a prefect, one student replied that he had "learned to live with hypocrisy."

C. Changing Rules

A major way out of the dilemmas facing prefects as policemen and judges is to change the system of rules. During two years the prefect staff exercised a significant impact on the school by changing major facets of the rule system. The 1969-70 staff literally rewrote the corridor rules to eliminate perceived arbitrariness and lack of realism. During the 1970-71 school year, the prefects were influential in altering the precedent for punishing drug rule violators.

The role of prefects as rule changers is probably the least accepted of their three functions. Some faculty feel that such action from students is inappropriate and usurps what is rightfully faculty prerogatives. The 1969-70 staff especially remarked that they felt that this part of their role was resented by some faculty members. Among the prefects themselves there are those who doubted the worth of trying to be change agents. Change takes so long, they said. They doubted the trustworthiness of members of the administration, and they wondered whether members of their own group were willing to make the investment necessary to effect constructive change. Despite ambivalence about change, however, groups who brought alterations in the system looked with considerable pride on the changes they were able to stimulate during their tenure.

III. FORCES ON THE INDIVIDUAL PREFECT

As the individual prefect goes about his job, he faces certain forces. Some of these pressures come from within himself. His personal values and his style of life are very relevant to how he conducted himself in the role and how he felt about that conduct. Other pressures came from outside himself. Whatever he did and however he felt about it personally, he also had to contend with how other people--friends, other monitors, faculty, students, and administration--responded to him as a person in a very important role.

A. Internal Pressures

Monitors are seventeen or eighteen year old people. They are struggling with the manifold personal problems of being almost an adult at a time when the responsibilities they are asked to face are greater than those shouldered by most adults. Adolescents are particularly perplexed by questions of sexuality, identity, and authority. In a formerly all male school recently turned coed, these sources of conflict are especially evoked by the stresses of prefectship.

In the process of finding out who he is and what he will become, most prefects want very much to be true to themselves. The specific form this quest takes depends on the individual and the dimensions he finds salient for his own identity. For a few people the effort to be honest with themselves involves a genuine support of current structures. This form of managing one's identity in relation to prefectship is likely to lead a person to be more willing to enforce rules.

Getting back to the personal aspect. . . I hesitate to admit that the experience has not been so traumatic for me for several reasons. One, I've always identified with authority figures. . . I've always been rule-oriented in my own conduct. . . .

Many others, however, are especially alert to any signs of inequity, injustice, or compromise in the system. They tend to be more peer than authority oriented. No prefect is without ambivalence, however he chooses. The tension between what one is (a peer among adolescents) and what one will become (an adult authority) constantly remains. They want to respect the system, but they don't want to perpetuate what they perceive to be its destructive aspects.

A prefect who has chosen a life style in which he violates rules to prove to himself that he is an autonomous person will have trouble with a role that asks him to be a policeman. On the one hand, he is asking of others what he believes is unfair to ask of himself. Moreover, he is asked to recommend punishments for something he may not believe is wrong. He must do this at a time in his life when he feels that it is especially important to be true to his ideals.

What I'm saying is. . . for you, you can operate on a rational level. . . you can say well I agree with this rule and now I can enforce it. . . . It works against the grain for me to enforce any rule, any rule at all. For so long I've practically been against the whole rule structure.

The quest for an autonomous self leads the monitor to be disinclined to accept help. He is sometimes unwilling to see others' potential contribution and would like to believe that he can handle his problems alone, especially when the offers of help come from authority figures. Faculty, administration, and consultants may find their best intentions blunted if the prefects perceive that their own autonomy is endangered.

Again the help, you know, it's been there if it's wanted. But again I really haven't wanted it too often. . . . We have as large an emotional and intellectual stake in this institution as any other people. . . here including faculty and administration.

Like other human beings, prefects have their own hedonism and self-interest. It was reported, for example, that some prefects who worked on

lower school corridors used their capacity to dispense penalties to encourage younger students to provide them with food and candy. It was known that one prefect, who was a known rule violator, bargained with an offender whom he caught: if the prefect did not turn in the person who was violating a school rule, the person would not report the prefect's illegal behavior. Prefects themselves reported utilizing their right to be out of the dormitories for business purposes to meet with their girlfriends.

B. External Pressures

The people who became prefects were selected in part because of the other things they contributed to the school. These activities do not stop when prefectship begins. In some cases they even intensify. A prefect might move from being a team member to captain or from being a newspaper reporter to editor.

It's been very, very much of a strain because of academics and everything else. Things just get in the way. You just don't have time really, almost got myself very sick in the winter term. . . .

The consequences of these time pressures are not trivial for the smooth functioning of the prefect group. When the 1969-70 prefects set about rewriting the corridor rules, the task necessarily was carried out by a subgroup of the prefects. During the school year the whole group had difficulties because internal differences could not be resolved productively. The fact that only a fraction of the group fully participated in rewriting the rules probably contributed to the divisiveness.

The attitudes and behavior of other students often provide prefects with one of their toughest sources of pressure. Local and state police face angry students who call them pigs. Prefects face similar, though probably less severe, harassment.

I remember right after I got elected prefect last year, and I picked rooms and roommates and everything. I was standing behind a bunch of kids looking at the rooming for next year and one of the kids said, 'Oh, no! I'm living next to [his name], the prefect, God!' And I had just been a prefect for one day. Already the kid was mad enough. . . .

We have indicated that under some circumstances the prefects did not accept help when it was offered by faculty and administration. But there were also times when they sought help and were turned away, and there were times when prefects had to contend with faculty behavior which actually undermined their performance.

The end of the winter term we requested a discussion [with the administration]. . . they were really disappointing. . . . The problems were there. . . . It was made clear. . . . The only response was, 'Well, try to do the best you can and we'll try to get increased faculty presence on the corridor. . . .'

There's one faculty. . . [who] has a very, very bad reputation on corridor--actually plays up his reputation as a big drinker--who has had a number of obnoxious parties involving kids. . . . served a couple of kids drinks in his apartment, and yet has turned in one person for drinking. . . .

We do not know how often events such as these happen. But there is little doubt that they occur and add to the already heavy burden carried by the prefects. They are probably uncommon. Yet the mythology that grows as a result of such acts makes it more difficult for students and faculty to work together on shared problems.

Faculty members who served in dormitory roles face many of the same external pressures in carrying out their duties. Time pressure is significant. Dormitory mastership is equivalent for some to their classroom teaching and coaching; for others corridor work was fully half of their occupational lives because they were expected to be "on duty" from 7:30 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. The times when dormitory demands are highest are not random; they frequently peak just when other pressures are strongest.

It seems to me that the times when I've been most effective as a corridor master has been absolutely the worst times for me personally, because often the problems that these kids have pop up at very busy times in the year, just before big exams or something like that. And here I am trying to make up an exam or grade an exam and I have to have a two hour session with a kid. But I can't say to him, 'Well gee, come back next week between two and four because then I can deal with your problem. Usually I have to do it right then. And sometimes it involves staying up until two o'clock or two-thirty and having to get up for an eight o'clock class. And in a sense I sacrifice not only my well-being but some of my class the next day.

Corridor masters who take their responsibilities seriously, as this man did, face no small incursion into their privacy. They recognized that if they were to win the trust and confidence of students, they had to develop a physically and a psychologically open door. In practice, this often meant turning one's television room into a common room and finding ways to share food with students on their corridor. Doing these things means that his own apartment is less of a haven for the faculty member, and time he might otherwise have for his private interests or his own family is given to students.

The dormitory master, like the prefect, symbolizes authority and discipline to students in his corridor. No matter what efforts he expends on behalf of students, he must face some explicit rejection from students. Several faculty members reported that doors of student rooms slammed shut as they walked through the corridor. Most corridor masters described two important rewards of corridor work: developing close friendships with students and learning about young people. The closing student doors mark a major frustration for dormitory masters who genuinely wish to develop authentic relationships with students. Many corridor faculty also felt that the school administration neither understand nor appreciate their plight.

Both prefects and dormitory faculty sometimes despair about their

jobs, especially as the school year passes. Psychologically, erosion seems inevitable in the process of carrying out such difficult and complex duties, and many students and faculty were exhausted and diminished by what they must face. But despite the problems, they are not without resources for coping.

IV. COPING METHODS OF PREFECTS AND FACULTY

The search for a safe and productive life leads both students and faculty to make various kinds of adjustments to the pressures they face. Some of these coping methods focus primarily on their own internal dynamics. These are stances a person takes privately; things he is inclined to say to himself to minimize the stress he feels. He also has choices about how he will behave in executing his duties. The nature of the prefect and faculty relationships within and among themselves turns out to be complex and important for task performance and personal happiness.

A. Private Resolutions

Prefects, reflecting on their struggles, are likely to say things like, "You can't let it bother you," or "Don't get yourself excited." These statements represent more of a wish than a reality. People can forget about their strains and worries for brief periods of time, especially when they have alternative activities to take their time and energy. But this sort of private pacification has only short-run payoff because the problems do not go away. Moreover, if "forgetting about it" leads to psychological withdrawal, the problems may get worse.

Faculty members, too, find that they sometimes had to withdraw from the pressures of corridor mastership. Some are less frequently seen on the corridor. Others, by virtue of seniority, are able to move out of the

dormitories.

Another private resolution, more available to students than to faculty, is to be "flexible". Our respondents frequently advised future prefects to avoid being rigid. They have seen standards change and recognize that two cases of rule violations are rarely identical. As the school year passed, they also experience more and more pressure on themselves. To take away some of the pain of seeming to be unfair, inconsistent, hypocritical, and fallible, the prefects often adopted a philosophy of flexibility. With such an outlook there is always the potential danger of losing all track of standards. But if this extreme outcome does not result, the stance of flexibility allows prefects to learn from their experience, to treat each case on its merits, and to avoid needless anguish over events which show them to be fallible human beings.

B. Individual Behavioral Resolutions

Prefects and dormitory faculty vary on some elements of specific role behavior. They differ in the degree to which they themselves break major school rules, in the extent to which they consciously and actively avoid being in places where physical evidence of rule breakage is likely to be found, and in their willingness to turn in students if they find them breaking rules. Moreover, some individual positions on these dimensions changed during the course of a school year.

The question of prefects breaking major rules is not simple. They do not stop being students and peers when they move into their special roles. Many have established reputations. Election to prefectship is, in some sense, a validation of their past behavior. What if that behavior included considerable rule breaking? Students naturally ask themselves whether a radical behavior change would let down their constituents. Would it be

violating their own life style for the sake of their role? Even if they recommend the lightest penalty, they still face the fact that they are helping to punish others for something they themselves have done without penalty. One solution is for prefects to break no rules while at Gaith, but to follow their natural inclinations when off the campus.

It is a very rare prefect who goes through an entire academic year without breaking a major rule, but those who do, report feeling good about themselves on two counts. First, they have shown that they are capable of considerable self-discipline. Second, they avoid the "hypocrisy" of dispensing penalties for rules that they do not themselves keep. They do not, however, escape denying themselves certain pleasures or being inconsistent with their past school behavior.

For prefects who try not to break major rules themselves, there is the question of what stance to take when finding evidence of others' violations. Many strenuously avoid being places where rule breaking occurs. There are at least two reasons for such avoidance. Not being present when violations occur prevents the person from having to decide whether to report the violators. It also removes the temptation for the prefect himself to break the rules.

Interviewer: 'Were you careful, too-- in the sense of having hunches about where things might be going on and not having yourself in a position to see it?'

Prefect: 'Yeah. I'd say that was fair. I didn't go out of my way to go to the places like that, and I sort of avoided them.'

'Like he [another monitor] feels he can't go up to [a place] because he doesn't want to catch people smoking. He feels he can't go into a lot of people's rooms. . . . So he's shut off from a lot. . . .'

Prefects who avoid people and places when they suspect violations suffer on a number of counts. They came to feel increasingly isolated from other

students--especially their own classmates--as their time in office progresses. They also end up being less informed about the school. Those who adopt "counseling" rather than strict enforcement are less able to perform this function if they avoid confronting the behavior they counsel about. But there have been prefects who did not violate the rules while on campus and also did not avoid places where violations occurred.

Problems, with respect to breaking rules themselves and reporting students, are most severe for the younger faculty. The person dismissed for taking drugs with students was a young man recently graduated from college who was reportedly suffering from "personal problems" himself. Another first year faculty member made no efforts to enforce rules during his first several months in the dormitories because he did not wish to infringe upon the students' autonomy. As time passed, however, he began to assess the consequences of his actions, as one senior faculty member put it, and "woke up." At this point he became a most severe disciplinarian, and the students, who at one time thought of this man as a friendly peer, subsequently looked upon him as a rat!

While it is almost unknown for a prefect to report a student for violating a major school rule, it did happen twice during the years of our study. When one sees and tries to understand the enormous pressures against turning a student in, it is apparent why it happens so rarely. One need not be a rule-oriented purist to regret that the more persistent violations do not more often reach the attention of key authorities in the school. A persistent pattern of violations (especially for drugs and alcohol) may be a symptom of serious personal problems which could benefit from outside assistance. Sometimes peer counseling can be helpful in these matters but not always. When the punishment system is so punitive that it discourages information of this sort from reaching needed resources, there is reason to

rethink the penalty and reporting system.

Both the penalty system and the information system were improved as a result of actions taken jointly by the prefects and the administration. A prefect found a student violating the drug rule and took the matter to a meeting of the prefects. They discussed the case and agreed to report the violation if the faculty and administration would agree to alter the penalty for pot smoking from automatic expulsion to suspension. The school administration agreed to this proposal, and the violation was officially reported. This change in precedent for drug violations probably could not have been effected if the prefect had not been willing to report the rule breakage, nor could it have been accomplished if the administration had not been willing to alter the rule structure.

The practice of counseling rather than reporting major rule violators has been taken on by faculty as well as students. Masters make it known that they are available for confidential discussions about rule violations--especially in the area of drugs. This procedure increases the likelihood that important information reaches key faculty members. But questions of equity remain. Is it fair that students engaging in similar prohibited behavior (e.g., drug violations) face differing degrees of jeopardy if they come to the attention of counseling oriented faculty and prefects before they are "apprehended" for breaking rules? Given that individuals vary so widely in their personal definitions of what is a "crime" and what is a "signal of distress," there is no easy way out of this inequity. It is similar to a problem in society at large: a person who is damaging himself or others may come to the attention of the police or into the care of the mental health professions, and his future is likely to vary considerably depending on which type of institution he enters.

C. Group and Intergroup Relations

Neither the prefects nor the faculty operate exclusively as individuals. They belong to various groups, and they regularly interact with other groups: the prefect group, the corridor masters where they live, the administration, and the faculty discipline committee. The importance of the group dynamics of the prefects and of their relations with faculty can hardly be overstated. As one person put it, "When the prefects stay together, the whole school does." Several faculty members said that the most important factor in their functioning well as corridor masters was their relationship with the prefects on their corridors.

One of the major ways that prefects can cope with the stresses of their role is to be able to discuss their problems with others who can understand. Those best equipped to understand are other prefects or corridor masters. These discussions are unlikely to occur, however, unless the parties have developed relationships of acceptance and trust for each other. One of the primary ways that the 1969-70 prefect group differed from the 1970-71 group was in their internal dynamics. The earlier group was more split on issues of rule enforcement and less tolerant of individual differences than the later group. Partially in response to the traumas of the preceding year, the 1970-71 group decided not to have a group policy about rule enforcement. Each man was to develop his own position and try to act consistently as an individual. This approach resulted in lack of consistency for the group as a whole, but it allowed the prefects to discuss their differences with relatively little polarization within the group. In the preceding year several prefects tried to get the group as a whole to adopt their personal approach. Initially it appeared that the group had agreed to "stay straight" and enforce the drug rule, but it became apparent, as the year progressed, that this solution was not viable. Although

eventually the group courageously faced up to their inability, they were not able to muster the resources from within their own group or from outside to prevent a marked deterioration in their morale and performance.

Among the cross pressures faced by students and faculty, satisfactory relations between the prefects and corridor faculty were possible. But such an outcome took work to achieve. Prefects could readily document cases in which faculty members acted in ways that undermined them. And faculty members could easily recount times when prefects withdrew from "their responsibilities" or actively colluded to protect students from the consequences of violating major school rules. One experienced corridor master described a process that he had evolved in order to develop effective relations with the prefects. First, he made an active effort to seek out students with whom he thought he could work and invited them to live on his corridor. Second, he attempted to establish mutual expectations with them. Sometimes this meant that he would share housekeeping with the prefects; other times it meant the students would bear sole responsibility for these duties. Usually the understanding provided a means whereby "confidential information" could be exchanged between the parties, and it usually provided for two classes of corridor meetings. One type was run exclusively by the prefects for students, and a second type included both faculty and students. Third, this faculty member also appointed one of the prefects as a head prefect for the corridor and tended to work especially closely with him. Under these circumstances, the corridor master and prefects were able to develop a satisfactory way of handling the dilemmas of corridor management.

Among themselves, corridor masters also face needs for cooperative communications. To date there have been fewer problems about values and life styles among masters than among the students. Masters often feel the need for greater mutual influence among men who serve in the same and in

different locations. It is not uncommon for different corridors to develop their own traditions about acceptable and unacceptable behavior.

I feel that there should be much more cooperation on the corridors, you know, among masters on corridors and between corridors. . . . The third floor does something and the second floor can't. The second floor wonders why it can't or it'll go to the third and do it. . . . I still think unofficially you can go and say. . . . 'Some of your guys have been up on our corridor doing things. I just wanted you to know, or, how would you handle this problem down there?'. . . . There should be more of it. It's not encouraged.

Conflicts among values and life styles which have shown up among the students also exist among the faculty. There is a tendency, moreover, for some faculty members to decrease their contact with corridor life and to retain the picture they have of days past. Such men may take a critical stance when current corridor masters attempt to discuss the way things are now. One master was especially concerned because a number of experienced corridor masters were moving off the halls into private housing. He feared that highly valued corridor resources were being lost, and that a more serious gap might develop between corridor faculty and those who live outside.

The dynamics of the faculty and prefect group are highly interrelated. These two groups can benefit not only from open communications within their respective groups but also by being able and willing to share information across groups.

When (an administrator) became concerned about drugs, he communicated his concern to the corridor head who then went to his monitors to find out about it. I (a corridor master) tried for three weeks to find out what was going on. . . . The monitors knew, the corridor head knew, but the line that was given to me was that we want to handle this involving as few people as possible. . . . I think the corridor head short-circuited a lot of the things that should have been discussed. . . .

A similar example arose when one class committee asked for a change in corridor rules. The changes was acted upon without consultation with all

relevant corridor masters. One man remarked that he thought debate on formulating the rules would have made them easier to enforce, and he also felt quite awkward to learn of the rule changes from students in an informal conversation.

Another intergroup relationship of great significance is that between the prefects in their judicial role and the Faculty Disciplinary Committee. This exchange has been designed to operate in a gentlemanly adversarial mode. The students have evolved a method of arguing from precedent for the least penalty they believe the faculty will accept. Some faculty members make an explicit policy of hiding their real opinions about penalties from prefects. The students share only those opinions which their calculations suggest will help the student cause, and some faculty members reveal only those views which they believe will not endanger their standing with students. In short, penalty setting has a game-like atmosphere in which substantially less than all relevant information is available for discussion. The process exacerbates student feelings of hypocrisy, and contributes to mistrust between the prefects and the faculty. These results might be necessary if the proceedings were actually criminal, or if the good of the individual student was generally antagonistic to the good of the Gaight School. But it is clear that Gaight is not a court of law. If the interests of individual students are really at odds with the welfare of the school in general, then the school faces serious questions about its own purposes. We believe that the penalty setting process might be altered to better serve the interests of individual students, the prefect group, the faculty, and the institution as a whole.

V. TRENDS OVER TIME

The analysis of the prefect group and its relations with the Gaight

faculty took four years to develop, and despite this long term study we make no claims to full understanding of this group, a life. An important feature of our evolving understanding is that it has taken place over a period of time, and the group itself has changed continually, ~~not only~~ because it has contained different individuals each year but also because the broad social context in which it operates has also been changing at a rapid pace (Kwery and Trist, 1963). In this section we attempt to identify the nature of some of the trends we think could be observed.

First, although it was rare for students to report major rule violators during the first years of the study, it is virtually unknown in 1973. The policeman facet of the prefect role has fully disappeared. Prefect behavior in relation to violators of major school rules, to the extent that it exists at all, is counseling rather than enforcement.

Second, prefects themselves break major school rules more frequently and with less personal conflict today than they did several years ago.

Third, the nature of the rules which are broken has changed. Most knowledgeable people in the system believe that there is less hard drug use and more alcohol consumption today than several years ago. The advent of coeducation has made interdormitory visiting a major issue, when several years ago the absence of both sexes in the school made male-female relations a far less explicit issue in school life than it is today.

Fourth, faculty members, too, are less inclined to enforce major school rules today than they were several years ago. This may be accounted for by their age and life experiences and by their empathy with the student view that penalties most often go to those who get caught rather than to those who break rules.

Fifth, in response to these trends, the actual enforcement of major school rules has been increasingly undertaken by agencies external to the

Gaight students and faculty. A campus security officer was hired in 1972-73 to help protect the female dormitories from outsiders invading at night. On his nightly patrols, however, the officer inevitably encounters rule violations by Gaight students which he reports directly to the headmaster.

CONCEPTUAL SUMMARY

Understanding the prefect group requires complex analyses that call into play concepts from individual, group, and intergroup theoretical frameworks. At the outset of the study, there were some in the school who chose to understand the phenomena primarily in terms of the personalities of the prefect leaders of the 1969-70 academic year. Others saw the problems as a function of intragroup dynamics among the prefects. But ultimately, as this chapter is intended to show, a more complete understanding involved the interaction of many levels of analyses in what has eventually been described as a very rich intergroup phenomenon (Levinson, 1959; Rice, 1969).

The prefect role is in part defined by the Gaight system, and each incumbent faces strong and conflicting demands. But based on their life experience and the organizational reality they faced, the individual prefects develop their own conception of this difficult role. Sometimes in accord with their own role conceptions and sometimes at variance with their conscious ideals, the prefects act to evolve a regular pattern of behavior for themselves and those with whom they relate.

As part of their roles, the prefects belong to several different groups, each of which have similar but slightly different intergroup relations. On the corridor prefects are potentially members of a team which

includes resident faculty and other students. This group of authority figures have dealings directly with the managerially subordinate members of the same corridor and indirectly with other corridor teams. If students in one corridor discover that the management of another corridor operate with greater leniency than their own group, they either put pressure on their own management to change or move their activities to the other corridor. Off the corridors the prefects belong to their own group whose mission becomes advocacy for students apprehended breaking major school rules. While the structural arrangements gently encourage cooperation between prefects and faculty on the corridors, the adversarial relationship of prefects to Faculty Discipline Committee induces competition between the groups. It is likely that the competition between students and faculty on matters of penalty setting also make it more difficult to cooperate in matters of dormitory management.

Chapter Seven

LEARNING FROM CONSULTATION: SOME PROPOSITIONS

This chapter has two major purposes: (1) to begin the development of a theory of behavioral science intervention, and (2) to articulate the conceptual assumptions that underlay our work with Gaight. We will present six propositions that are the beginning of a theory of consultation, though they are not yet a well-integrated theory. We will discuss the propositions and their implications, and illustrate them in terms of work described in this book.

The propositions presented here are not identical to the rudimentary versions with which we began the Gaight project. One of our major goals in undertaking the project was to develop our theory of intervention, and the propositions as they now stand are the product of our understanding of the theoretical and research literature and of our experience in the field. As noted in Chapter Three, we develop our conceptual frameworks and our research findings through cycles of inductive and deductive reasoning that build on empirical, applied and theoretical work. The ideas about consultation with which we began have been refined, confirmed, disconfirmed, and otherwise modified by our experience and thinking since the inception of the project.

Conceptually, the propositions are rooted in such diverse fields as psychology, social psychology, organizational behavior, and general systems theory. In our view, the complexity of human systems demands a multidisciplinary approach and a wide range of conceptual resources. The cost of using such diverse resources is that integration of the resulting potpourri of concepts into a coherent framework is difficult. We believe that the

propositions below do justice to the complexities of learning from consultation without creating a hopelessly bewildering array of concepts. This chapter is intended to provide theoretical background for understanding the succeeding chapters about our interventions at Gaith. We will note the sections of the book most relevant to each proposition, and provide illustrations of the proposition as appropriate.

I. PROPOSITIONS

Six propositions will be discussed in this chapter. The first describes learning from consultation in terms of outcomes, and the next three elaborate on that definition. The fifth describes two classes of interventions available to consultants, and the sixth describes a sequence of phases through which consultation tends to cycle.

Proposition 1: Learning from consultation involves a joint process of inquiry by client and consultant that produces: (1) valid information, (2) understanding of the consequences of client system behavior, and (3) the possibility of altering structures and processes to increase the flow of information and the development of understanding.

Truly "valid information" would require that all the information relevant to an issue in question be available without distortion or bias. But completely "valid information" is a will o' the wisp, since all the relevant information is almost never available, and really "objective", undistorted information about human systems is equally difficult to obtain. But even if the ultimate valid information is not available, it is clearly possible to have relatively complete and accurate data about an issue or to have relatively incomplete and distorted information. The more joint inquiry can produce relatively valid information about an issue, the more the parties can learn from the consultation.

The importance of getting valid information about issues relevant to

the consultation and the obstacles to getting such information have been treated in detail elsewhere (e.g., Argyris, 1970). The more specific implications for consultation include the importance of developing multiple data collection methodologies and sources of information, and the need to remain aware of our own and others' subjectivity vis-a-vis organizational issues.

Understanding the consequences of client system behavior involves coming to terms with the information available about the client and developing explanatory frameworks that link the data in ways that imply alternative behavior patterns and suggest ways of instituting constructive changes. Two problems hinder the development of such understanding. First, the task of understanding human systems is extraordinarily complex, and there are few convenient ways to control sources of extraneous variation or to reduce that complexity. Second, the more important and "real" the phenomenon under investigation, the more the human beings involved have a stake in the outcomes of any investigation and the more they are likely to distort information to protect or enhance that stake. Those distortions, in turn, may endlessly complicate the task of understanding.

The possibility of altering structures and processes to increase the flow of information and the development of understanding refers to an opportunity to increase the client's and consultant's capacity to learn from consultation. Structures are system arrangements like job definitions, hierarchies of authority, and formal communication channels, that tend to remain relatively constant over time. Processes are more immediate and transitory forms of interaction like the processes of group decision-making, interpersonal conflict management, and interpersonal communication patterns, that are likely to vary in the short term. The line between structure and process is blurred, and changes in one that persist are

likely to evoke complementary changes in the other.

It should be noted that these possible alterations feed back into the first two outcomes, information flow and the development of understanding, to increase the chances of learning from consultation. Learning is the most important focus of this form of consultation, and changes that flow from it are intended to increase the client's capacity to learn. "Change for the sake of change" is clearly not desirable. Change that decreases the system's capacity to learn may be easy to accomplish. Changes that are not relevant to system learning may be possible, but they are not a major goal of consultation.

The outcomes of this consultation process are founded on the assumption that client and consultant are engaged in a joint process of inquiry. The collaboration of agents internal and external to the client system allows a synthesis of the consultant's perspective and specialized expertise with the client's inside knowledge. Together they can develop more valid information, more complete understanding, and more effective plans for action than either could alone. The review of previous cases in Chapter One suggested that the collaboration of insiders and outsiders was often related to effective consultation (e.g., Alderfer and Ferriss, 1971). The more consultation constitutes a joint learning experience, the more likely it is that consultant and client will both persist and come away enriched.

Perhaps the most obvious illustration of this summary proposition is the book as a whole, for it deals in its entirety with the information acquired about Gaight as a human system, the understanding of that human system that emerged, and the alterations in the system attempted. But rather than discuss the general proposition more specifically, we will turn to the next three propositions, which elaborate various aspects of the first.

Proposition 2: The flow of valid information depends on: (1) the permeability of boundaries between consultant and client, within the consultant, and within the client; and (2) the mutuality of relationships between consultant and client, within the consultant, and within the client.

Boundary permeability is a concept from general systems theory (cf. Miller, 1965) that refers to the extent to which a system is open to matter, energy, and information transactions with its environment. A living system must develop a boundary to define itself from its environment. But the system must also exchange inputs and outputs with the environment to survive. Living systems, in short, must maintain a boundary that is at once firm enough to preserve its identity and permeable enough to permit transactions with the environment (Alderfer, 1974). The more permeable the boundary, the more possible it is for information to flow across it.

The concept of permeability suggests that the flow of information can be influenced by structural mechanisms built to facilitate or minimize transactions across system boundaries. Consultants who are frequently present are more likely to receive information than those who only interact by mail. Task forces that include representatives of all sides of the relevant boundaries are likely to have access to more valid information. Teams composed to feed back the diagnosis were composed of Yale graduate students and faculty and Gaight students and faculty. In short, the structural aspect of consultation can be influenced to increase the flow of information by creating mechanisms that span the relevant boundaries and increase the number of communication channels in operation.

Relationship mutuality has been defined as existing when the parties give and receive all the relevant information (Rogers, 1959; Argyris, 1962; Erikson, 1964; Alderfer, Kaplan, and Smith, 1973). The more the parties to the relationship can share all relevant information--ideas and feelings, positives and negatives--the more mutual the relationship.

Creating mutual relationships requires that a climate and processes be set in motion that encourage the sharing of sensitive information that might be suppressed in the normal course of events. The more the parties develop mutual trust, a sense of shared goals, and the commitment necessary to constructively confront their differences, the more they can develop a mutual relationship.

Boundary permeability and relationship mutuality refer to different aspects of human systems, but the existence or lack of one tends to support the existence or lack of the other. Further, the nature of internal boundaries and relationships are likely to resemble the external ones (Alderfer, 1974). These ideas imply that the boundaries and relationships between the consultant and the client are not the only ones relevant to the flow of valid information. If external boundary permeability and relationship mutuality are influenced by their internal analogues, we would expect low levels of mutuality and permeability between clients and consultants if either is internally closed. If the consultant system cannot establish mutual relationships it limits the extent to which it can facilitate valid information flow for its clients in at least three ways: (1) it is hampered from engaging in information exchange with the client because of its external closedness; (2) it is hindered from being generally effective as a system because of its internal closedness; and (3) it exerts a "counter-modelling" influence in that it is asking the client to "Do as I say not as I do." The internal closedness of a client may be somewhat less serious, since client learning is the raison d'etre of the consultation. But, too much internal closedness in the client can also make increase in the flow of valid information impossible and necessitate ending the relationship (cf. Argyris, 1970).

One specific implication of this analysis for consultants is "Practice

what you preach," at least with respect to relationship mutuality and boundary permeability. Consultant credibility can be seriously undermined by demands that the client do things that the consultant cannot or will not do himself. Exhortation to increase the flow of valid information is anything but convincing if the speaker is simultaneously engaged in clear information control and manipulation.

This book as a whole is a chronicle of attempts to develop a freer flow of information in a relatively internally and externally closed system. Developing structures and processes that would allow for more permeable boundaries and more mutual relationships has been a focus from the start. For the purposes of illustration, however, the survey feedback process described in detail in Chapter Eight is a good case of increasing boundary permeability and relationship mutuality. The feedback meetings provided a structure for increasing boundary permeability, particularly as they offered system members a chance to find out more about the consultants. The opportunity to hear about the consultants' findings and interpretations, to ask them questions, and to observe them interact amounted to a real increase in boundary permeability between consultants and clients. In addition, the norms developed in the meetings were intended to encourage frank sharing of information about the diagnosis and its implications whether disconfirming, confirming, or elaborative. The development of a frank information-sharing process involved a movement toward increased relationship mutuality between consultants and clients. Finally, the discussions between consultants and the Liaison Committee that preceded their joint work in the feedback meetings involved increasing the flow of information internal to those groups as well as between them. As a structure and a process for increasing the two-way flow of information between the school as a whole and the consultants, the feedback meetings were very successful.

Proposition 3: Understanding of the consequences of client system behavior emerges from an iterative process that requires: (1) experiencing and sharing feelings associated with client system behavior; and (2) elaborating and comprehending intellectual explanations of that behavior.

Experiencing and sharing feelings associated with client system behavior requires willingness to undergo some degree of stress by both consultant and client. Experiencing and sharing feelings is an undervalued activity in our culture in comparison with experiencing and sharing ideas, particularly in organizational contexts. Yet the bureaucratic preference for "rational" behavior by no means renders emotional issues moot, on the contrary, the suppression of feelings can have important impacts on organizational effectiveness (Argyris, 1962). If the suppressed feelings are not to distort and hamper effectiveness, however, they must be shared and "worked through" and "working through" is typically a stressful process (cf. Jaques, 1952).

The importance of dealing with covert issues and the feelings surrounding them suggests heuristics for consultants like "Move toward the anxiety in the situation." Such interventions can uncover covert issues that would otherwise hamper effective functioning. But uncovering the issues is not necessarily helpful unless the consultant can also help the client work through their implications emotionally and intellectually. Helping others uncover and manage feelings and anxieties calls for a good deal of skill in uncovering and managing one's own feeling and anxieties. It is easy for the unsilliful to make the situation worse.

Elaborating and comprehending intellectual explanations of client system behavior is another critically important and exceedingly difficult task. The "cognitive maps" developed, to be useful, must link the important elements of a situation in comprehensible ways that imply alternative behaviors and awareness of leverage points for change. Intellectual

explanations available in the literature can provide helpful guidelines, but they are no substitute for explanations grounded in the real situation. Most client system behaviors are multiply-determined and have multiple effects, and the task of simply but fruitfully explaining that complexity is intimidating. Many of the research tools available to laboratory scientists--like control of independent variables and access to true experimental designs--are just not available in field situations, and alternatives must be invented or ambiguity tolerated.

The consultant can bring to bear knowledge of available intellectual tools and experience with explanation-building that may be unavailable to the client. Together they must avoid both the Scylla of tolerating too much ambiguity and never developing any conceptual order to explain the flow of behavior at all, and the Charybdis of articulating one hypothesis and then distorting all subsequent data to fit it. One useful heuristic for charting this passage is "Develop several alternative hypotheses to explain any phenomenon." Subsequent information can be used to discard, confirm, or refine those hypotheses.

Two primary intellectual tools used in this study were shared written documents (i.e., a report on the "Human System of the Gaight School" and a report on the prefects) and action plans evolved from theory.

Written documents permit others to see how we think about the school and allow them to reflect on our work. Organization members could deal with us on more than a face-to-face basis, in contrast to the way most therapists or group relations trainers function. Written reports also provide a basis on which we could be held accountable and from which we could justify our actions. If we agreed in writing and through open discussion to do things and then did them, the relationship should not be discontinued without reviewing those earlier understandings. On the other

hand, if we made agreements that we did not keep, written documents could provide a means for the school to confront us about the commitments which had not been fulfilled. Such failures would be a legitimate basis for terminating the relationship.

Having action plans on theory was an essential part of our approach to change. Moreover, our view of theory construction is a growing and evolving process, not static dogma. We started this study with a theoretical position largely oriented toward interpersonal and intragroup issues and emerged convinced of the limitations of this view. Most of our errors were related to not having taken adequate account of intergroup forces. Applied behavioral scientists are not the only people who have theories about human behavior; individuals in the school also used construct systems to explain what happened to them and to govern their own behavior (Heider, 1958). If we ask clients to consider alternative ways of understanding their system, we, too, should be open to revising our "professional" views as new data is developed.

It is worth emphasizing that the development of understanding is a consequence of a cumulative process that may involve repeated attempts to work through the feelings surrounding an issue and to develop a satisfactory conceptual explanation for it. Although relatively little in the way of shared feelings and differentiated explanations for behavior may emerge on the first attempt, that first attempt may in itself set the stage for a more complete understanding later on.

But given a high degree of understanding of the consequences of past client system behavior, there is no guarantee that the past will be duplicated in the future. Schon (1971) has argued that we are "beyond the stable state," and change is so rapid that the best understanding of the past may provide only a "working hypothesis" about the future. In any case, it is important to be able to use new information to develop increased

understanding--to learn from experience.

By way of illustration, perhaps the clearest case of a gradual increase in our understanding of client system behavior and its consequences is embodied in the discussions of the prefects in Chapters Nine and Ten. Although the "prefect problem" was widely recognized in the school, it was difficult to do anything concrete to change the situation because of: (1) the prefects' feelings about their role and about work with the consultants and the administration; and (2) an explanation of the situation that conceptualized it as the "prefect problem" rather than as a problem of corridor management and social control influenced by intergroup dynamics. Faculty members understood the behavior in terms of the "personalities" of the prefects, and we initially explained the problems as a function of mistrust among the prefect group. Neither theory was entirely wrong: the needs and coping styles of the individual prefects did play an important part in their behavior, and relationships among the group were important to how they worked together. But both client and consultant theories omitted the multiple intergroup effects that influenced student and faculty behavior. With awareness of the intergroup dynamics came greater understanding and more effective action.

Proposition 4: Durable alteration of structures and processes to increase the flow of relevant and valid information and the development of understanding about the consequences of client system behavior depends on the extent to which: (1) the client system actively chooses to alter its behavior; (2) psychological acceptance of the alteration is expanded to include all relevant individuals and groups, and (3) the alteration becomes a routine (rather than exceptional) behavior pattern.

Active choice by the client system to change its behavior is an important element of durable change, for although behavior changes can be compelled, they are unlikely to persist after the compeller leaves (Kelman, 1958). Free choice is a critical element in the decision to change

(Argyris, 1970). The more the individuals directly involved in the change participate in the decision, the more effective and durable it is likely to be (Gosh and French, 1948; Lawler and Hackman, 1969).

The importance and value of free and active choice by clients is not always immediately obvious to clients themselves, particularly if their previous experience with experts leads them to expect "answers" to their problems. Failure to provide answers may be seen as consultant incompetence. On one hand, consultant acceptance of responsibility for changes leads to little learning by the client as to how to deal with problems and manage future issues. On the other hand, refusal to accept any client dependence at all may ensure that the client fails consistently--and again, learns nothing useful. Active choice to change by the client is essential, but collaborative decisions about implementation are often highly appropriate.

Expanded psychological acceptance of the changes has at least two forms: (1) expanded depth of commitment to the alteration on the part of those who began it; and (2) expanded breadth of commitment to the changes extended to groups and individuals not originally involved. The depth of individual commitment is likely to grow with early successes (or diminish with early failures), and is likely to be related to individuals' feeling of "ownership" for the change. The breadth of commitment is expanded by extending opportunities to influence the changes or to experience their effects to other individuals and groups. Failure to expand the "sanction" of the changes can lead to termination of the change (Schefflen, Lawler and Hackman, 1971) or even of the consultant-client relationship (Clark, 1972). In the cases reported in Chapter One, system interventions were consistently expanded to take in more groups and individuals at different hierarchical levels as time passed, and that diffusion throughout the organization, we believe, had much to do with the durability of the changes.

The implication of this aspect of altering human systems is that attention must be paid to the wider system implications of any change. Alterations that may lead to repercussions from other parts of the system need to be carefully planned to ensure the expansion of commitment rather than the creation and escalation of resistance (Brown, 1971).

The routinization of the new behavior pattern is a final step in the integration of change in the system's behavioral repertoire. Such routinization includes the development of needed skills within the client system, the development of structures and processes that are consistent with the alteration, the mobilization of system resources to support the alteration, and the general acknowledgement of the alteration as an improvement. Where crucial elements of routinizing the alteration do not appear, the alteration is likely to lapse even though the initial commitment to it was high (Gross, Giacquinta, and Bernstein, 1971).

This analysis implies that it is not enough that attention be paid to the wider system effects of the alteration alone; thought must also be given to the long term effects and problems of the alteration if it is to endure. Initial success may be short-lived if the conditions for routinization do not exist or cannot be created.

The alterations of behavior patterns under discussion are intended to increase the flow of valid information and the development of client system understanding. They are not changes for the sake of change, or changes aimed at specific short-term problems. When the three aspects of durable change--active choice, expansion of acceptance, and routinization--are not present, the alteration is likely to be ephemeral or even noxious--leading to decreases in the flow of information and the development of understanding.

There are several cases of alterations in behavior patterns at Gaight

discussed in the following chapters, but it may be worthwhile to use one as an illustration here. In response to their own experience as freshmen and to a discussion of their role vis-a-vis incoming freshmen, the sophomores of 1970-'71 decided to forego the traditional practice of hazing the newcomers by throwing them in the pond. Commitment to this decision was deepened when some sophomores had to prevent others from backsliding, and commitment to its larger implications was widened to include the freshmen by the prevention of hazing and apologies for the near backsliders to the freshmen. There is some indication that subsequent classes have followed the sophomores' lead and that the change has been routinized, since evaluation two years later indicates that perceptions of the frequency of hazing have dropped significantly.

Proposition 5: Learning from consultation involves two inter-related models of consultant behavior: (1) releasing interventions through which the consultant facilitates the expression of hitherto suppressed ideas and feelings; and (2) developmental interventions through which consultant and client collaboratively plan for alterations in client system behavior.

Releasing interventions are focused on facilitating the expression of suppressed information and feelings, and they may further system maintenance through a catharsis-like process. The consultant acts as a non-directive facilitator in releasing interventions, creating a situation in which the client can talk about issues and feelings that in the ordinary life of the system are difficult to discuss. The external position of the consultant, which makes him relatively unaligned with ordinary factions and divisions in the system, is an important aid in his role as releaser of built-up tension. Typically releasing interventions are a response to emergent problems in the system that the consultant encounters.

The effect of releasing interventions is twofold: (1) they operate to increase the flow of information between consultant and client, and some-

times within the client, particularly with respect to "undiscussable" topics; and (2) they serve to lower the levels of tension generated by the suppression of information and feelings in the system, and increase the possibility of constructive dealing with the sources of tension. The goal of the consultant is to learn more about the issues in the client system, and to facilitate the release of tension for the client.

Developmental interventions, in contrast, are focused on active attempts to change the system through consultant-client collaboration in planning and (sometimes) execution of interventions. Developmental interventions are typically created to deal with consistent system problems that emerge from a diagnostic process, and they are the result of collaboration that uses the resources of both outside consultants and internal clients to develop a jointly-owned plan for change.

Developmental interventions are intended to achieve planned change in the behavior patterns of the client system. But the success of developmental interventions can be measured both in terms of the results of the specific intervention and in terms of the more general outcomes of the consultant-client collaboration. In important ways, the actual content of the intervention or the theory that underpins it is less important than the way in which it is carried out. The actual planned change experience--the quality of the process and the interaction--may be as or more important than the designed content or the theoretical assumptions underlying it,--a possibility that is increasingly recognized in psychotherapy (Truax and Carkhuff, 1967), in encounter groups (Lieberman, Yalom, and Miles, 1973), and in organizational development activities (Friedlander, 1970). The processes by which the interventions are designed and executed may well influence the client as much as their content. Gaight administrators told us that one of their most important learnings from consultation was the value of bringing

together relevant parties to solve organizational problems.

The importance of the process of intervention is connected in turn with the forms of influence usefully available to the consultant. Some readers may have noticed that the intervention modes described rely on non-directive facilitation and on collaborative partnership, rather than on any more unilateral use of power and expertise. It is clear that more direct and autocratic use of power can achieve results, but unilateral use of power is counterproductive if the goal is to increase the client system's capacity to learn expansively from its experience. The more the interventions of the consultant threaten or induce dependence in the client system, the less likely that the conditions required for the flow of valid information, the development of system understanding, or the creation of humane change will exist.

The most direct illustrations of the two modes of intervention are in Chapters Ten and Eleven. Chapter Ten describes the developmental interventions undertaken at Gaight, like the effort to limit freshman hazing, the development of the internal change agents, and the efforts to alter the prefect role. All these interventions were responses to major organizational issues raised by the diagnosis, and they were all planned and executed by a combination of external and internal personnel. Chapter Eleven describes the releasing interventions, like the administrative consultation, Co-Ed Day, and the co-ed dormitory discussions. These interventions typically occurred in response to some emergent crisis, rather than to a plan to alter major long-term dynamics.

Proposition 6: Learning from consultation is an iterative process that proceeds in four interdependent phases of: (1) entry and contract setting; (2) data collection and diagnosis; (3) taking action; and (4) evaluation.

The entry and contract setting phase includes the first contacts

between consultant and client systems, the exchange of information required for decision about further work together, and the negotiation of the parameters and expectations of that work. The first stage usually results in some forms of explicit mutual expectations, often formalized in a written contract of some sort, and some more subtle forms of mutual expectations that are implicit in the nature of the interaction (see, e.g., Alderfer, 1967).

The data collection and diagnosis phase involves elaboration of the understanding about the client systems' problems with which the work began. A host of alternative approaches to data collection exist, and they are subject to the problems of reactivity and complexity discussed in connection with the flow of information and the development of system understanding (see Chapter Three). Diagnosis involves putting together the results of data collection activities to highlight system issues and problems, to indicate possible alternative behavior patterns, and to suggest routes to those alternatives.

The phase of action-taking can involve interventions by the consultant alone (e.g., releasing interventions), or by the consultant and client together (e.g., developmental interventions), or by the client alone. Although client interventions independent of the consultation that affect it are not uncommon, the more important action steps for this form of consultation are those initiated by the consultant or by joint action. In particular, the forms of action-taking relevant to this process are those that affect the client system's capacity to learn from consultation by developing valid information about and accurate understanding of the consequences of its own behavior.

Finally, the evaluation phase of consultation involves assessment of the impacts of action steps: the existence of effects at all, the fit

between expected effects and actual ones, the possibility of unexpected side effects. Frequently it is difficult to determine unambiguously just what effects flow from what actions, though there are increasingly sophisticated technologies for understanding interventions (cf. Brown and Friedlander, 1974).

Transitions are important in a "phase" theory of change, especially for a project that combines action and research. Feeding back diagnostic information brought the researchers inside the school and turned them into advocates of their systematic analysis. While this activity marks the end of diagnosis, it also initiates action. The quasi-experiment reported in Chapter Seven showed that this feedback was associated changes in involvement. The meeting to install internal change agents, reported in Chapter Eight, was the official beginning of action, and it also provided us with significant diagnostic information about how the Gaight faculty would react to change processes. A behavioral pattern shown at the outset of planned action also reappeared during the faculty evaluation. Thus, action oriented events provided additional diagnostic information.

The action and evaluation phases mutually influenced each other in ways that were similar to the ~~diagnosis and action overlap~~. Chapters ~~Eight~~ Twelve and Thirteen describe the methods used to evaluate the project: (1) forming a Faculty Assessment Committee, and (2) readministering portions of the diagnostic questionnaire. The faculty committee's work was valuable for administrative and research purposes, as intended, but it also made an important contribution to the action goals of the project. This group learned that many faculty members felt uninformed about the project, so they prepared a history of activities which was circulated to student leaders and faculty members. Their document described what had

happened and explained the reasons for continuing the project. The Faculty Assessment Committee also served as a third party consultant between the researcher-consultants and the Gaight faculty.

Evaluation depends on accumulating data about appropriate topics from relevant parties by methods they will accept. The Faculty Assessment Committee used open-ended interviews and questionnaires with selected administrators, student leaders, and faculty members. A shortened fixed alternative questionnaire was also administered to all students. The "clinical methods" employed by the faculty committee produced "process analyses" of the project, while the "statistical method" used with all students gave largely "outcome" indicators for the change efforts. These two modes of evaluation were complementary; each produced a view of the project that was omitted by the other; and together they provided an evaluation more complete than either alone.

Conceptualizing consultation as a series of phases is not an innovation, other investigators have developed sequences of stages not unlike the one described (see e.g., Beckhard, 1969; Kolb and Frohman, 1970; Lippitt, Watson and Westley, 1958; Margulies and Raia, 1972). One advantage of this framework is that it makes easily comprehensible the potential interdependence of the phases. Much of the diagnosis, intervention, and evaluation phases turn on the expectations set up in the entry stage. Intervention, evaluation and entry into new parts of the system depend on the quality of the diagnosis.

Furthermore, evaluation of the effectiveness of an action step may at once lead to entry into a new part of the system, re-diagnosis of the subject of the intervention, or alternative action steps with the client.

The consultation process is basically iterative, and the importance of learning about the system and its reactions and interactions with the consultants remains constant. What was unclear in the first cycle of phases may become clearer in subsequent cycles; what was ineffective as an action step early may become more so later when based on a better diagnosis and implemented through more mutual relationships. The consultation process builds on "what has gone before," whether it is building up to greater success or building down to failure and termination.

The phases of consultation are applicable across levels of complexity, and they are appropriate for characterizing the interaction between consultant and a single individual client and for describing the interaction between a consultant and a large system as a whole. The microcosm-macrocosm cross-level application can also be applied to time levels--short-term and long-term--as well. The most obvious illustration of the phases of consultation, and perhaps the most appropriate here, is the overall organization of this book. Part I, which contains Chapters One and Two, describes our entry and early contract setting process with Gaight, and some relevant background material. Part II, including Chapters Three through Six, reports the result of our diagnostic work with Gaight. Part III, consisting of Chapters Seven through Eleven, reports action steps with Gaight after the diagnosis to elaborate the diagnosis and to implement its recommendations. Finally, Part IV, containing Chapters Twelve through Thirteen, assesses the effects of our work with Gaight.

Chapter Eight

THE IMPACT OF SURVEY FEEDBACK

This chapter describes the process and the results of feeding back some preliminary diagnostic findings to different groups in the school. The chapter emphasizes the dual functions of survey feedback as (1) an extension of the diagnosis and (2) an intervention for constructive change. Survey feedback can be used as a transition mechanism: a bridge from diagnosis to action.

The chapter begins with some discussion of survey feedback as a bridging device and the ways in which it has been used elsewhere. That review will be followed by a summary of the content of the feedback to Gaight, and a description of a series of feedback presentations that culminated in a series of meetings with all the Gaight students. The qualitative and quantitative results of those feedback meetings will be examined in the next section. The chapter concludes with a conceptual summary relating the events of the feedback meetings to our consulting propositions.

I. SURVEY FEEDBACK AS A BRIDGE

Survey feedback involves summarizing the results of survey questionnaires and presenting them to the respondents, ordinarily in meetings of organizational "families", so they can discuss their responses in comparison to the rest of the organization. Such survey feedback discussion may contribute to understanding of the organization by eliciting new information. It may also contribute to constructive action to remedy problems that emerge from the data and discussion. In any case, the object of feedback meetings

to the development of a shared diagnosis by researchers and clients.

The dual uses of survey feedback were neatly captured in the title of one of the earliest reports of its use: "Studying and Creating Change: A Means to Understanding Social Organization" (Mann, 1957). Some authors have focused on the potential utility of survey feedback as a research tool. Heller (1969), for example, recommends feedback meetings as a systematic field research methodology that facilitates understanding of complex social processes by providing clinical information to supplement questionnaire data. Other investigators have concentrated on the intervention possibilities of survey feedback (e.g., Bowers and Franklin, 1972). In fact, Bowers (1973) found in a comparative study that survey feedback was the most effective intervention of those compared for inducing constructive organizational change. Even when the feedback is ineffective in changing behavior, that ineffectiveness in itself may elaborate or confirm the diagnosis (Argyris, 1965).

There is some risk that the dual functions of survey feedback will interfere with each other. There is some reason to fear that researcher-consultants may have to compromise one role to fulfill the other. Argyris (1965), for example, reports feeling strain between the two roles that he resolved in favor of his researcher identity. One approach to managing this tension is to split the researcher and consultant functions. This "clinical-experimental" approach (Miles et. al., 1969; Benedict et. al., 1967) requires a team of investigators with "action" and "research" subgroups. But in that study the researchers found no support for the expected changes after feedback, a result that may have roots in their division of resources and information. Brown (1972) has suggested that in some circumstances combining the researcher and consultant roles may increase the quality of both research and action, though it is not clear that such

combinations are always helpful.

Composition of the staff of feedback meetings can be an important issue aside from their research and action roles. Alderfer and Ferriss (1972) found that participants evaluated the feedback more positively when it was presented by an internal and an external change agent together rather than by an internal change agent alone, and they hypothesized that the combination enhanced both the credibility of the feedback and the likelihood that something would be done. The latter hypothesis is consistent with the research of Klein, Kraut and Wolfson (1971), who found that participants were more satisfied and perceived more utilization of the data when line managers presented the feedback than when personnel representatives did.

Composition of the groups of feedback recipients can also influence the outcomes of feedback. The most common design of feedback meetings involves presenting the data to organizational "family groups" that share tasks and problems (Mann, 1957). But Alderfer and Ferriss (1972) noted that family groups may not always be appropriate, particularly if superior-subordinate problems are at issue. They suggest feeding back to peer groups before bringing subordinates and superiors together, a design that has been tested and found effective by Alderfer and Holbrook (1973).

However staff and recipient groups are composed, the immediate reactions of recipients to the feedback is likely to be mixed, particularly if it touches on issues that are at all sensitive. Chesler and Flanders (1967) report the "death and life of a feedback attempt" in which the data elicited mixed feelings that initially resulted in the rejection of the feedback and the consultants. Argyris (1965) reports a feedback meeting in which the recipients were virtually paralyzed by the data, and their mixed feelings about the data and the researcher are clear. Alderfer and Ferriss (1972) found that positive perceptions of the feedback meetings and the

consultants' competence were correlated with expectations of both improvement and harm. Participants, in their view, quite reasonably (1) want constructive change, but (2) fear change as a threat to their stability. Alderfer and Ferries (1972) conclude that there is more cause for concern if reactions to feedback are not ambivalent, for that suggests that it is not very important or that it is not being heard.

In brief, the literature suggests that survey feedback can be useful for increasing understanding of the organization and for catalysing constructive organizational change. There is also evidence to suggest that the design of successful feedback meetings requires attention to the composition of the feedback meeting staff, the composition of groups of recipients, and the management of mixed feelings on the part of the recipients. Feedback meetings are expected to bridge the gap between diagnosis and action, but to do so effectively they may also have to bridge gaps between inside and outside consultants, between superiors and subordinates, and between conflictful feelings within recipients.

II. THE CONTENT OF THE FEEDBACK

By January 1970, Gaight student and faculty interviews had been completed and the Long Questionnaire, based on those interviews, had been administered. The feedback meetings involved presenting preliminary findings from analysis of the Long Questionnaire responses to faculty and students for discussion.

The content of the feedback was not the same as the diagnosis presented in Chapter Five. That diagnosis rests on a year-long diagnostic process including analysis of five administrations of the Time Series Questionnaire. The preliminary analysis, in contrast, was based on a single administration

of the Long Questionnaire in November. The static analysis is less convincing about the effects of living in the Gaight system than the time series analysis, though analysis of the Long Questionnaire responses by class suggests the same conclusion.

The precise content of the feedback presented to the student meetings evolved somewhat during the two preliminary meetings with the Liaison Committee and the Committee on Educational Policy. Since this chapter focuses on the student meetings, we will describe the feedback presented in those meetings, and comment on the evolutionary changes in the context of the preliminary meetings. (See Appendix D for a complete set of feedback materials.)

More specifically, the data fed back to the students consisted of nine pages of data summary from the November Long Questionnaires. Four pages of the feedback dealt with items concerning satisfaction ("I am highly satisfied with my experience at Gaight," "I have often thought about leaving Gaight permanently.") and involvement ("I am really pretty apathetic about my life at Gaight.") with life in the school. The first page summarized the responses of the school as a whole, and the next three pages presented graphs comparing the mean response of faculty and different classes to the three items. For each item, the same pattern was clear: student satisfaction and involvement tended to decline with increasing time in the school up to the senior year, when morale rose slightly. Our tentative interpretation of this finding was that living at Gaight had negative effects on student morale.

The next two pages of feedback concerned the amount of sarcasm at Gaight and the extent to which it had increased or decreased since the previous year. Again, the first page summarized the response of the school as a whole, and the second graphed the differences across classes and

faculty. The amount of sarcasm at the school was perceived to be very high, eighty-two percent of the respondents answered the first item with "Very high" or "High". The distribution of response across classes followed the same pattern as the satisfaction and involvement. The longer students had been in school, the more sarcasm they perceived up to senior year, when they perceived somewhat less. Change in level of sarcasm from previous years was on the whole not reported; the means rating was "The Same". Interestingly, however, the class that perceived the most increase was the Freshmen, who had been instructed to use their previous school as the comparison since they had not been at Gaight the year before. They did perceive an increase in sarcasm over their previous schools. Our interpretation of this finding was that there was indeed a high level of sarcasm at the school, and that it was associated with living at the school like the declines in involvement and satisfaction.

The next two pages of feedback presented information about perceived mutuality of influence for students and faculty. Respondents to the Long Questionnaire were asked to rate administration, students, faculty, and outsiders for the extent to which they were an "influence on me" and "influenced by me". The difference between the two ratings was conceived to measure mutuality of influence: the greater the difference, the less the mutuality of influence in either the powerful or powerless direction. Both students and faculty felt more influenced than influential with respect to all groups: administration, faculty, students, and outsiders. Further, both students and faculty felt their relationships with outsiders involved more mutuality of influence than any of their relations with insiders -- the discrepancy between influence on me and influence by me was least for outsiders. We interpreted this finding to suggest that high degrees of mutuality were not experienced at Gaight, and that both students

and faculty ordinarily felt relatively powerless.

The last page of feedback presented graphs comparing mean scores of day students and boarders on the three satisfaction and involvement items. Day students were consistently more satisfied and more involved than boarders. Since boarders spend more time in the Gaight system, we interpreted this finding to support the hypothesis that living at Gaight had negative effects on student morale over time. Day students had higher morale because they spent less time at the school.

We inferred from these nine pages of feedback three tentative conclusions about the Gaight School: (1) the longer students remained at the school, the more they experienced a general deterioration of morale, (2) the high level of sarcasm at Gaight is a problem in itself and is associated with morale deterioration, and (3) students and faculty alike feel relatively powerless and experience their most mutual relationships outside the school.

III. THE FEEDBACK MEETINGS

We presented the feedback to four different groups: the Liaison Committee, the Committee on Educational Policy, the Faculty Forum, and the students. We will discuss the first three briefly and the student meetings more extensively, since they were the focus of systematic efforts to evaluate the effects of feedback.

A. Feedback to the Liaison Committee

The Liaison Committee was formed to help us with the process of diagnosis (see Chapter Three). The committee included students, faculty, and administrators, some of whom joined because of their reservations about the project. They were instrumental in the development of the Long

Questionnaire, and it seemed appropriate to give them the first feedback from the questionnaire to see if the results and our interpretations made sense.

The content of the feedback presented to the Liaison Committee differed in several respects from that described in the preceding section: (1) three pages that presented information about "critical incidents" which in general supported the morale decay over time hypothesis were included; (2) one page demonstrating that students and faculty perceived themselves as getting more help from outsiders than from insiders was included; (3) one page that showed that response rates varied in ways consistent with the morale decay hypothesis, and (4) one page illustrating the difference between day and boarding students was included. Otherwise, the feedback content was the same.

The reactions of the Liaison Committee were very ambivalent. Some members felt there was nothing "new" in the feedback. Others felt it was very hard to understand. Questions were raised about the validity of the "decay" curves: some attacked the statistical treatments as unound, and others argued that even if the curves were accurate descriptions of student opinion, they really represented adolescent growing pains rather than any effect of the school. The sarcasm findings were questioned on several grounds: some thought that the term "sarcasm" was too ambiguous to be understood and so the results could not be interpreted; others contended that "sarcasm is all in fun" and that "you put the wrong connotation on it": still others felt that the questionnaire heading of "cutting people down" biased the students into a griping mode so that they answered the question in a hypercritical fashion. But, after some discussion, most members agreed that at least in some circumstances sarcasm could be harmful. The Committee eventually decided that we should present the findings to the Committee on

Educational Policy and propose that student feedback meetings be held to test and elaborate the preliminary findings.

B. Feedback to the Committee on Educational Policy

The Committee on Educational Policy consisted of department heads and senior administrators, and was chaired by the headmaster. It was this committee that contracted for the organizational diagnosis, and it was an obvious group to receive the feedback after the Liaison Committee. It was in a position to approve our proposal to validate and elaborate the preliminary diagnosis by presenting it to the student body.

The content of the feedback to the Committee on Educational Policy was identical to that presented to the Liaison Committee except for two changes: (1) we had discovered that the finding that students and faculty get more help from outsiders than insiders -- a finding that elicited incredulity from the Liaison Committee -- was in fact based on an arithmetic mistake, and (2) we had performed the analysis of the day-boarder morale differences to see if it supported the morale decay hypothesis.

The Committee on Educational Policy was substantially less challenging than the Liaison Committee, with one or two exceptions. The headmaster raised many of the issues that had been brought up by the Liaison Committee, and some faculty members raised the issue of the ambiguity of the questions about sarcasm. One faculty member who felt the ambiguity of the term invalidated the results, on being informed that the title of the questionnaire was "cutting people down", argued that "no one reads the title". Others commented that there might indeed be some harmful sarcasm in the school, but that the present level was nothing in comparison to the "old days", when students and teachers alike were hounded from the school by it. The meeting was dominated by questions from the headmaster, however, in

part because some members belonged to the Liaison Committee and so had already discussed the results, and in part because many senior faculty were willing to let the headmaster speak for them.

After several hours of discussion the Committee on Educational Policy, like the Liaison Committee, moved beyond concern with verbal nuances to accept the results as sufficiently in keeping with their own perceptions of life in the school to merit further exploration. They accepted the recommendation that we present the data to the students in a series of feedback meetings.

While the discussions with the Liaison Committee and the Committee on Educational Policy resulted in a sort of "intellectual working through" and acceptance of the existence of sarcastic behavior and morale problems, we did not expect substantial change in behavior from members of either committee in consequence. We did come to believe that this "intellectual working through" was the first step of a more elaborate process whose outcomes seemed promising for changes in behavior at Gaight. By the end of the discussions we at least shared with many members of those committees a conception of some of the issues in the school that needed attention.

C. Feedback to the Faculty Forum

The Faculty Forum had been formed the preceding fall after the faculty orientation meetings described in Chapter Three. In those meetings the faculty became aware of their own relative powerlessness in the system and anxious to do something about it. The Faculty Forum was founded to provide an arena in which faculty concerns could be aired and acted on.

The content of the feedback to the Faculty Forum was identical to the feedback to the student meetings. For the sake of clarity, the pages presented to the earlier meetings dealing with questionnaire response rates

and with "critical incidents" were omitted, since their major contribution was further support for the morale decay hypothesis.

Our proposal for the student feedback meetings provided opportunities for faculty members who lived with the students to attend the faculty meetings with them. But not all faculty members who lived with students were able or willing to leave their classes to attend, and other faculty members who lived outside the school did not have the option of joining the students. Faculty who were not on the Liaison Committee or the Committee on Educational Policy and who were not invited or otherwise unable to attend the student meetings did not receive the feedback. We offered to attend a Faculty Forum meeting to present the feedback to remedy that lack.

About twelve faculty members attended that meeting: some were favorably disposed to the feedback (some were members of the Liaison Committee there to help present the feedback); others were quite antagonistic. The first half of the meeting was largely dominated by one faculty member who questioned everything from the statistics of the findings to the motives of the researcher-consultants. He left abruptly in the middle of the meeting, and interaction became a good deal less conflictful after his departure. Consistent with much of our experience with the faculty, we felt less successful in working through the implications of our findings with the Faculty Forum than with the student groups.

D. Feedback to the Students

There are about four hundred students at Gaight. In view of the preliminary findings (see Chapter Three), it seemed to us that living together presented more difficulties than studying or playing together. We decided to ask students to attend the meetings in the company of the students they lived with. Faculty and prefects were invited to attend with their "family groups" of co-residents as well.

We also decided to stagger the feedback meetings, and to deal with the student body in three feedback meetings spaced a month apart. Two reasons dictated this approach: (1) we could not, without prohibitive expense, amass a large enough professionally-trained staff to present feedback effectively to the whole school at once, and (2) staggering the meetings allowed us to use a multiple time series design to test the impact of the feedback. This design made it possible that the effect of later meetings would be contaminated by conversations with earlier participants, but those contamination effects seemed more likely to obscure later results than to create artifactual ones; the design appeared to have a conservative bias rather than one that would encourage spurious findings.

The staff for the student feedback meetings was composed of people from the Liaison Committee and the Yale Department of Administrative Sciences: two faculty members and five graduate students from Yale, and five faculty and five students from Gaight. This group split into several teams to work with the different student groups. Each team contained students and faculty from both Gaight and Yale to maximize the different perspectives available, and we also attempted to distribute among the teams the individuals with past experience in survey feedback.

The joint Yale-Gaight staff met several times to collaboratively develop a design for the feedback meetings and to develop the subgroups into effective teams. Before the start of the meetings both Gaight and Yale staff members had a fairly clear idea about what they expected to do and how they would work together.

The design for the meetings called for an initial presentation of the data by passing out the summary sheets one by one and talking them through with the participants. Then participants were asked to meet in small groups

of their peers to discuss the validity of data and to elaborate it where possible. If discussions revealed some aspects of the problems that might be worked on with the people present, the staff planned to move into problem solving activities as well. The meetings were originally planned to last a full day, but after the first meeting they were shortened to four hours for the second and third sessions.

In the feedback meetings a good deal of energy was applied to understanding and in some cases to working on the issues raised. The students, on the whole, seemed more willing to accept the findings than the faculty had been, possibly because they were closer to the realities of school life and possibly because they felt less responsible for its seamier sides. They were most interested in the findings that pertained to sarcasm and the decay of morale over time.

A predictable pattern emerged in discussions of sarcasm. Students were ordinarily more willing to accept its existence than faculty members, but they, like the faculty, were not immediately sure about its value. It was not uncommon for students to argue that sarcasm was a good thing, because it gave people a chance to use their verbal skills, joke, let off tension, and compete verbally with one another. Only the "weak" would be hurt by sarcasm. But under questioning people frequently volunteered they knew of students who had been hurt by sarcasm, or even volunteer that they themselves had been hurt. Frequently participants provided here-and-now examples of sarcasm and its properties for discussion. Such examples from the immediate situation often effectively demonstrated the ambiguous quality of sarcastic interaction and its potential destructive impact on the recipient, who would ordinarily respond with a sarcastic defense. In some cases the "majority position" of the group moved from support of sarcasm to

acknowledging both one's own contribution to it and the pain it caused one's self and others. "Emotional working through" of sarcasm by sharing personal experiences and by examining the immediate behavior of the participants was often followed by discussion of how the level of sarcasm might be reduced in the school as a whole.

The pattern that emerged around examination of the decay curves was somewhat different. After discussion of the curves and acknowledgement of their validity as a measure of morale, participants turned to discussion of more fundamental causes of the decline. These discussions tended to become increasingly specific, and frequently focused on interactive problems that were present in the meeting itself. In several meetings confrontations of some intensity occurred. In one meeting, several freshmen accused prefects who lived on the corridor with them of extortion; in another the faculty was challenged for unfairness. One clique of freshmen bullies was challenged by their classmates and victims. A group of sophomores who felt that the school administration was making unfair decisions based on biased information asked the Dean of Students to attend their meeting and proceeded to confront him with their side of the story. Making these conflicts overt instead of covert was often a great relief to participants, and some problems were actually worked through to successful new resolutions as well. The processes of "emotional working through" of important issues and the development of increased understanding of the problems and how they might be attacked was very similar to the processes that occurred in meetings that focused on the issue of sarcasm.

On the whole, student participation remained high through all three sessions of feedback meetings. By the end of April all three meetings had been finished.

IV. THE CONSEQUENCES OF FEEDBACK

Assessing the impacts of such a broad intervention into a complex social system is a difficult task. We will consider both quantitative and qualitative information relevant to the meetings. Some of it is clearly and directly related to the feedback meetings; some is related more distantly. We would content that the convergence of different sorts of information about outcomes of the feedback meetings provides impressive evidence for the proposition that they had a measurable impact on the system and its members, though ultimately there is no way we can ever establish the precise causes of subsequent events without ambiguity.

A. Quantitative Evidence

The student feedback meetings were timed so that time series questionnaires were administered two weeks before and two weeks after the first and second meetings. This combination of meetings and questionnaires constituted a "multiple time series design." (Campbell and Stanley, 1963.) Multiple time series designs offer the combined advantages of two quasi-experimental designs: meeting participants can be compared to other potential participants who have not yet participated ("non-equivalent control groups design"), and they can be compared to their own responses at several times before and after the critical intervention ("time series design").

Chapter Five discusses the change over the course of the academic year of three variables taken from the Time Series Questionnaire: satisfaction, involvement, and growth from academic activities. These variables tended to decline with time in the school, both in terms of months in a school year and in terms of a school career. The feedback meetings were intended to facilitate the development of a shared diagnosis of the system problems and

to begin the process of working on these problems. What sort of impact, if any, might the meetings be expected to have on these variables?

We had no reason to expect change in academic growth, since the meetings were not focused on academic aspects of the school. We also had no reason to expect positive changes in satisfaction, since the feedback was not presenting data that was obviously a cause for increases in satisfaction, at least in the short term. Indeed, changes in satisfaction might well be negative as students began to criticize the impact of the school. We did have some reason to expect positive changes in involvement if the feedback meetings were successful, for one intent of the meetings was to mobilize students to work on their own problems and to press for constructive change in the school.

Table 8-1 presents the results of comparing of participants in Meetings I and II with non-participants. Participants in Meeting I were not significantly different from non-participants (who later participated in Meetings II and III) on change in satisfaction or academic growth. But Meeting I participants became significantly more involved ($p < .01$) in their life at Gaight after the feedback meetings than non-participants, whose involvement dropped. Similarly, participants in Meeting II were not different from non-participants (who eventually participated in Meeting III) in change in satisfaction or academic growth. But they did change positively in involvement as expected, and their difference from non-participants approaches significance ($p < .10$). Participants showed consistent increases in involvement, and non-participants showed consistent decreases.

 Insert Table 8-1 about here.

Figure 8-1 presents the results of time series analysis of the same

Table 0-1

**PARTICIPANT AND NON-PARTICIPANT
CHANGE AFTER FEEDBACK MEETING**

<u>Meeting</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>t</u>
Satisfaction				
Participants	-.42	3.09	64	.17
Non-Participants	-.33	3.03	75	
Involvement				
Participants	.18	2.39	64	3.05**
Non-Participants	-.92	2.60	75	
Academic Growth				
Participants	-.00	2.86	64	.43
Non-Participants	-.27	2.77	75	
 <u>Meeting II</u>				
Satisfaction				
Participants	-.30	1.38	58	.92
Non-Participants	-.02	2.28	52	
Involvement				
Participants	.57	2.42	58	1.48*
Non-Participants	-.15	2.53	52	
Academic Growth				
Participants	.26	2.25	58	.94
Non-Participants	-.19	2.76	52	

** p < .01

* p < .10

three variables. If the feedback meetings in fact affect participants favorably, we would expect a positive change over the interval in which the meetings occurred for each group. Inspection of the two graphs in Figure 8-1 shows that for involvement, but not for satisfaction or growth, there are clear positive changes over the interval of the feedback meetings and at no other time.

One way analysis of variance of the changes over time reveals that the differences are significant only for Meeting II ($F_{3,210} = 3.555, p < .05$). But one-way analysis of variance provides only a very conservative test for these data. Subject mortality was sufficient to make repeated measures analysis of variance impractical. But one-way analysis of variance inflates the variance attributable to error and the degrees of freedom by treating each set of responses as independent when they are in fact repeated measures on the same individuals. Inflation of the degrees of freedom can be compensated for by using the smallest group size as the applicable degrees of freedom (the Meeting II changes over time remain significant under this procedure, $F_{3,36} = 3.555, p < .05$). But extracting the variance attributable to repeated measures on individuals from the error term cannot be done with missing data, so one way analysis of variance becomes a very conservative test.

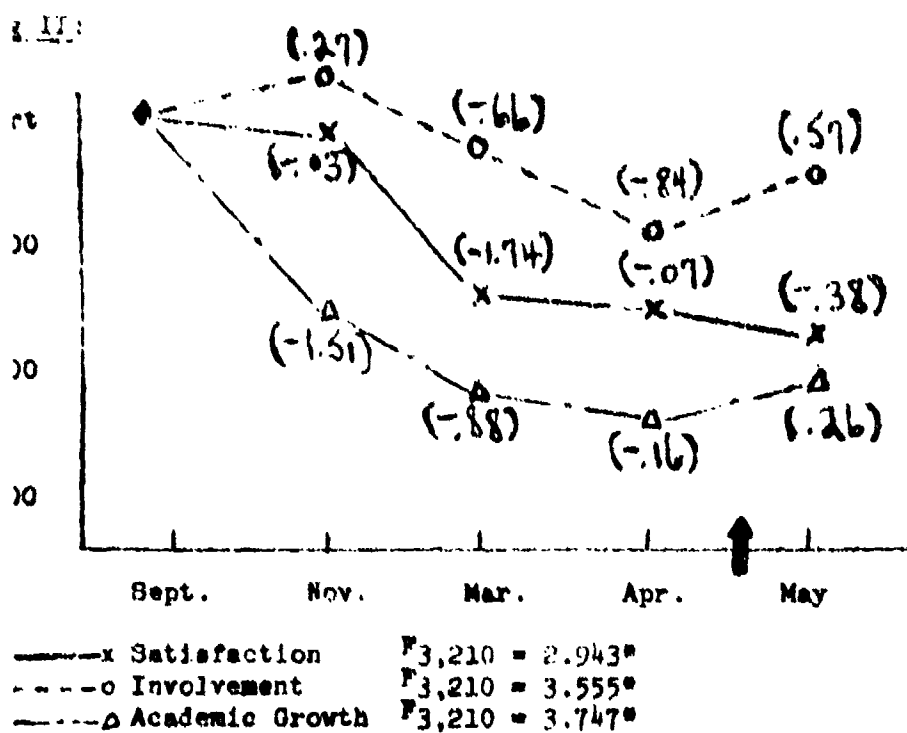
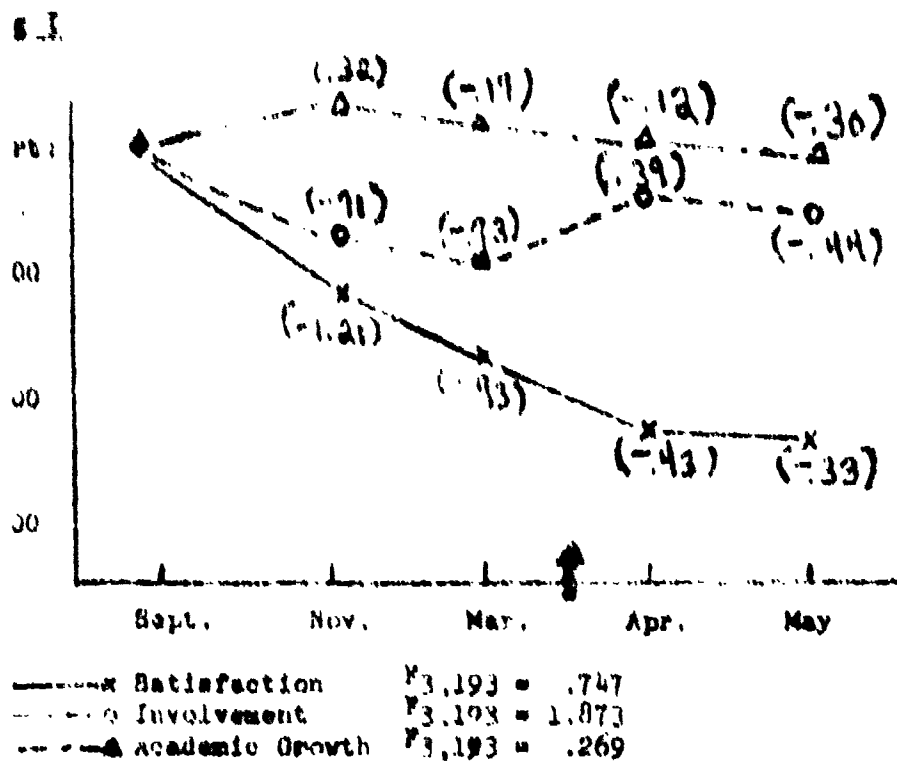
 Insert Figure 8-1 about here.

Taken together, the two comparisons yield convincing evidence that the feedback meetings did positively effect involvement in school life, and that they did not effect satisfaction or academic growth. Participants in the feedback meetings became more involved while non-participants became less involved. Participants in both feedback meetings changed in a clearly

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Figure 8-1

PARTICIPANT CHANGE OVER TIME



15 location of feedback meeting

positive direction at only one time interval during the year--the period during which the feedback meetings took place. Quantitative data clearly suggests that the feedback meetings had a positive effect on student involvement.

The preliminary findings implied that freshmen and seniors were least socialized into the apathy and dissatisfaction of students at Gaight. Our experience in the course of the feedback meetings indicated that the freshmen were most likely to engage in active discussion of and experimentation with the possibilities of change--a discovery that disconfirmed our original expectation that the freshmen would have difficulty paying attention for an extended period.

Figure 8-2 presents the results of an exploratory analysis of the more-a changes across classes after the feedback meetings. Seniors are not included in this analysis because less than ten sets of data were available from them, partly for reasons of subject mortality and partly because many of them did not participate until the last session. Freshmen showed significantly more positive change in involvement than sophomores ($p < .05$) or juniors ($p < .05$) after the feedback meetings, though there were not significant differences across classes in satisfaction or academic growth changes. This finding is consistent with the hypothesis that freshmen, who have only been in the school for one year, are relatively less socialized and so more ready to change than older students.

Insert Figure 8-2 about here.

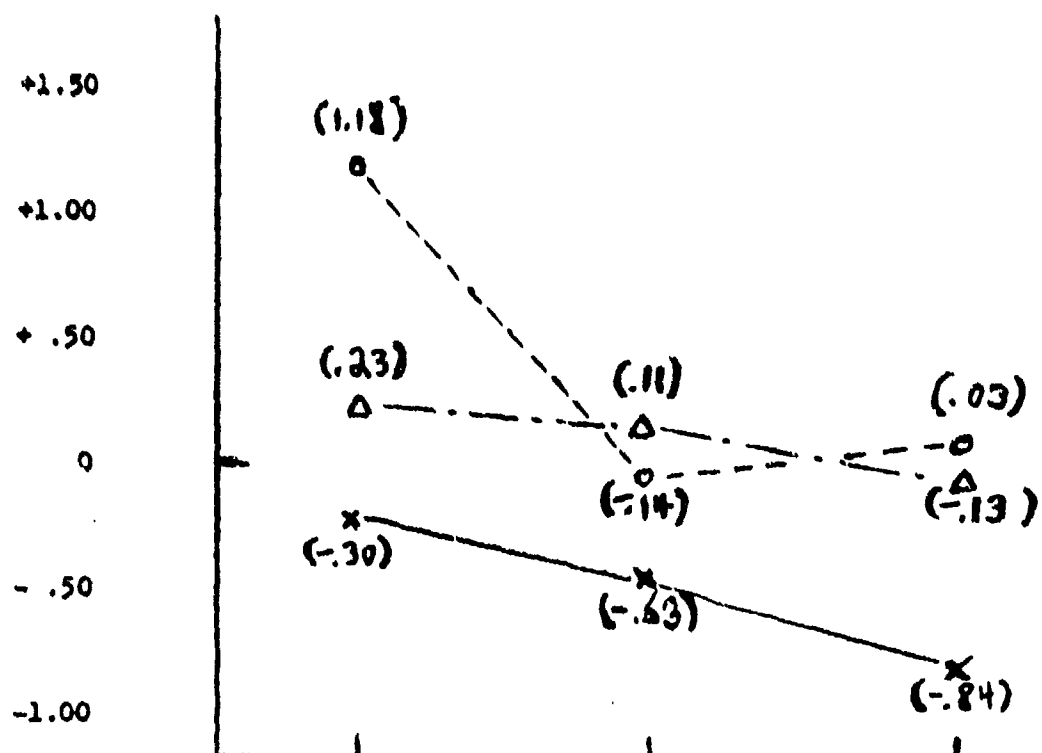
B. Qualitative Evidence

During the course of the meetings a number of students remarked that it was a good idea to have such sessions to discuss important issues.

Figure 8-2

CLASS CHANGE AFTER FEEDBACK MEETINGS

Positive Change



Negative Change

Freshmen

Sophomores

Juniors

x——x Satisfaction, $F_{2,112} = .532$
 o----o Involvement, $F_{2,112} = 3.450^*$
 Δ----Δ Academic Growth, $F_{2,112} = .212$

Involvement

\bar{x}

s

n

A. Freshmen

1.18

2.19

40

B. Sophomores

-.14

2.69

36

C. Juniors

.03

2.38

38

$t_{A,B} = 2.316$, d.f. = 74, $p < .05$ (two-tailed)

$t_{A,C} = 2.212$, d.f. = 76, $p < .05$ "

$t_{B,C} = .283$, d.f. = 72, $p = n.s.$ "

Several requested that follow-up meetings be held on the corridors. No procedures for gathering or processing information about issues students perceived to be important existed prior to the feedback meetings. Participation apparently legitimized joint work on problems by students and faculty in a new way. When the internal change agents met with members of the sophomore and junior classes the following year to discuss class problems, they found that students who had participated in the feedback meetings were better able to participate frankly and effectively in joint problem-solving than people who had not. The feedback meetings, in short, offered a new model for problem solving at Gaight and the model was used in several contexts later on.

More directly, the feedback meetings may have had an important effect in managing tensions internal to the school. The spring of 1970 was a stormy one in schools across the nation. The invasion of Cambodia, the Kent State killings, and a general sense of dissatisfaction in schools throughout the country gave birth to student strikes in hundreds of colleges and high schools that spring, including a number of independent schools like Gaight. But Gaight students, after several meetings to discuss the issues--one of which took place the evening after the third feedback meeting--decided not to strike. We believe that this decision was taken in part because Gaight students did not feel that the school was unresponsive to their wishes and needs, but that on the contrary they were aware that the school was making active efforts to understand and respond. The most obvious signs of this effort were the recent feedback meetings, which had actively sought student aid in defining and working on the problems of the school.

There was also evidence that the discussions in the feedback meetings effected some of the issues engaged. Sarcasm, for example, was at first

regarded as a non-issue by many students. The fact that the feedback meeting staff perceived sarcasm as a 'problem' was at first treated as a joke by student participants. But after a good deal of discussion and testing ("Do you really think sarcasm is a problem?"), many participants began to agree that it had destructive effects. Sophomores and juniors particularly worked hard on sarcasm, though all classes discussed it to some degree. One outcome of the sarcasm discussions was an article in a subsequent edition of the student newspaper titled "You're Cool!", which stated:

Attending a recent Yale Study discussion of the school's problems, I was amazed at the Yale men's concern over sarcasm at Gaith. I had never really thought about how widespread sarcasm is, and what it means.

At this school sarcasm is any comment interpreted not to have its direct denotation, unfriendly or not. Such remarks are many, usually friendly banter, mostly innocuous. Some however, whether intentionally or otherwise, are not innocuous. This sometimes damaging wit is embodied in the 'slash', a usually sarcastic, always derisive comment. These mocking jibes sometimes go deep, and such humor is, I think, what has generated the concern among the Yale Study officers.

The cause of the sarcasm is a callusing effect the school seems to have with respect to one's feelings for others. Something about the school seems to oppose understanding and communication among people. . . .

At the minimum, the feedback meetings sensitized students and faculty to this issue of sarcasm and its potentially destructive impacts on others. Several months after the last feedback meeting, in October 1970, the headmaster, on his own initiative, noted that he was surprised at how many students seemed to be sensitized to the issue of sarcasm in their relations with others. He also commented that he was much aware of his own tendency to be sarcastic, and reported that during the previous week he had sought out a student after a conversation several times to make sure that he had been understood clearly and not as being sarcastic. The same day the

internal consultants reported that one faculty member really "got dumped on" for giving a sarcastic reply to another faculty member at lunch. The feedback meetings apparently did cast the phenomenon of sarcasm in a new light at Gaight, with some effects on behavior, at least in the short term.

The feedback meetings also materially effected the relations of the Liaison Committee and the Yale staff. In the course of their work together, Liaison Committee members and Yale staff came to know each other reasonably well. Committee members learned about the skills in communication and diagnosis that the Yale staff brought with them, and the Yale staff learned specifics about the school from Liaison Committee members. In several cases, committee members who were originally skeptical about the utility of the study and the feedback meetings became convinced of its importance, and they in turn encouraged their colleagues to take it seriously.

In one incident a Liaison Committee faculty member, doubtful from the beginning about the study, was a reluctant witness to what he feared would be a destructive confrontation between participants. The confrontation was catalyzed and encouraged by one of the researcher-consultants, and ultimately came to a conclusion regarded as constructive by all parties, including the faculty member. His reservations about the study were substantially reduced by the experience, and he wrote a special letter to the headmaster to advise him of his change of heart.

Another dubious committee member, a student who received John Pirch literature on the evils of T-groups from his parents after they heard about the spring 1969 workshop, also became a supporter of the project after working with the feedback meetings. In the following year he was one of the few prefects who wanted to engage in work with the researcher-consultants.

Some of the relationships built during the course of joint work endured for years after the feedback meetings. Two of the faculty committee members were subsequently recognized as official internal change agents, and so continued to collaborate with the researcher-consultants. One student member, two years later, was the only prefect willing to be interviewed about his experience at the close of the year. His willingness was in large part a function of his experience with the Liaison Committee and the trust of the researcher-consultants built there.

To summarize, the results of analyzing quantitative questionnaire data from the year of the feedback meetings and the results of clinical impressions and anecdotal information both support the hypothesis that the feedback meetings had considerable effect on short-term involvement in the school community and on participants' understanding of the phenomenon of sarcasm and the decay of student morale over time. The short-term effects of the meetings are clear; the long-term effects will be examined in a later chapter.

V. CONCEPTUAL SUMMARY

In this section we shall relate the feedback meetings to the propositions about learning from consulting articulated in Chapter Seven. The propositions can provide both conceptual underpinnings for some of the decisions we took in the course of designing the feedback, and a theoretical framework for understanding some of the results.

We conceptualized feedback meetings as a bridge between the diagnosis and data collection phase and the taking action phase (Proposition 6). The feedback meetings in this situation offered us an opportunity to expand on and validate our preliminary findings, and so contribute to the diagnosis,

and also a chance to develop a shared diagnosis with participants that in some cases led to taking immediate action on problems. On the basis of the feedback meetings we had the option of proceeding to action steps or engaging in further data collection and diagnosis--an "iteration" in the sense described in Proposition 6.

The feedback meetings constituted a joint process of inquiry (Proposition 1) in two senses: at the outset the Liaison Committee and the researcher-consultants were engaged together in trying to understand the findings, and later they together joined with other meeting participants in trying to develop a shared diagnosis of particular problems.

The feedback meetings sought to increase both the permeability of boundaries and the mutuality of relationships among the clients and between the clients and the researchers. The composition of the feedback teams included Yale and Gaight students and faculty. These groups therefore facilitated interaction across the organizational boundary between Yale and Gaight and across the student-faculty boundary within each school (Proposition 2). Each feedback meeting involved an attempt to communicate as clearly as possible the major results of our data collection and our significant interpretations of these results. Simultaneously we invited alternative interpretations of the findings from Gaight students and faculty. We asked Gaight people to respond to our information and analysis and tried to be equally responsive to their reactions, thereby enhancing the mutuality of relationships among the parties. Wherever appropriate we reported feelings that were evoked by these processes and invited the clients to do the same.

Developing a shared understanding of the consequences of client system behavior involved both "intellectual working through" and "emotional working

through" (Proposition 3). Particularly around the general issue of sarcasm and the specific issues confronted in residential groups, real comprehension of the problem seemed to require both "cognitive maps" of the problem (e.g., understanding the ambiguity and potential destructiveness of sarcasm) and sharing feelings associated with it (sharing personal experiences of pain and here-and-now reactions to examples).

The extent to which the feedback meetings led to durable alterations in structures and processes of the Gaight system is not clear from the discussion in this chapter (Proposition 4). It does seem clear that short term changes in behavior and attitudes occurred, but the extent to which positive commitment, widespread psychological acceptance, and routinization of change took place is unclear.

The actual mode of intervention in the feedback meetings is predominantly "developmental" rather than "releasing" (Proposition 5). Although some parts of the feedback meeting were designed to allow the expression of unexpressed feelings by participants, the predominant mode was a jointly planned effort to develop a shared diagnosis that might serve as a basis for problem-solving participants. Together the researcher-consultants and the Liaison Committee designed the feedback meetings and planned for working with participants to understand and act on the data, and together they implemented those plans.

On the whole, the feedback meetings are a clear example of the process of learning from consulting, in which researcher-consultants, Liaison Committee members, and meeting participants together learned more about the nature of systemic problems, and in some cases began to act to solve some of those problems.

Chapter Nine

CONTRACTING FOR ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Decision about whether and how to intervene into a social system after diagnosis is obviously a critical juncture for any consultation. At the substantive level, contract negotiations offer an opportunity for both consultant and client to consider the goals of further work together and alternative means of achieving those goals. Substantive decisions about what to do, when to do it, with whom to do it, and the like clearly have important effects on the future of the work together. More subtly, contract negotiations can have critical impacts at the process level. Expectations may be developed in the course of negotiations about the kinds of interaction between consultant and client that are legitimate, the distribution of power and decision-making capacity between them, the ownership of interventions, and so on, that can greatly facilitate or disastrously undermine action steps. In many ways the process of contract negotiations is a critical test of how the consultant behaves under stress, and the patterns set in negotiations are likely to have a magnified impact on the success or failure of the outcomes negotiated.

In this chapter we will describe and analyze the meeting of September, 1970, in which the faculty discussed our Diagnostic Report and its recommendations for action steps in the coming year. Although faculty support of the recommendations was not a sufficient condition for their implementation, it seemed clear that some faculty support was necessary to any successful interventions into the system.

Our intent in this chapter is twofold: (1) we want to describe the events that lead to our further work at Gaight, and (2) we want to analyze

the process of the contract negotiations as a microcosm that has features in common with other interventions and with the process of organizational development as a whole. The chapter has four sections. The first section describes the historical context in which negotiations about action steps took place, and considers some of the implications of those negotiations for linking past and present activities. The second section describes the planning and implementation of those negotiations. The third section supplements the qualitative description of section two with content analysis of discussion transcripts to illustrate quantitatively development of some theoretically predicted trends in the interaction. Finally, the fourth section links some of the conceptual propositions of Chapter Seven to the discussion of the contract negotiations.

II. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS

The contract negotiations that resulted in organizational development interventions at Gaight were not conducted in vacuo. On the contrary, it was the fourth time that we had come to formal agreement with school representatives to engage in some task, and the intervention negotiations were largely influenced by those previous occasions. Table 9-1 presents the contract negotiations that preceded the September 1970 discussions in terms of the subject of the contract, the negotiation party for Gaight, and the expected clients of the service. Each of these events has linkage implications with respect to the events that preceded and followed.

 (Insert Table 9-1 about here.)

The March 1969 discussions concerned laboratory workshops for seniors and some faculty just before graduation. These discussions were our first

Table 9-1

THE SEQUENCE OF CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS

<u>Time</u>	<u>Contract Subject</u>	<u>Negotiating Parties</u>	<u>Primary Clients</u>
March 1969	Senior Week Laboratory Workshops	Headmaster; (Faculty Committee)	Seniors; (Some Faculty)
June 1969	Organizational Diagnosis	Headmaster; Committee on Educational Policy	School as a whole
February 1970	Preliminary Diagnosis Feedback Meetings	Headmaster; Committee on Educational Policy; (Liaison Committee)	Students; (Some Faculty)
September 1970	Interventions for Organizational Development	Headmaster; Faculty	Headmaster; Internal Change Agents; Prefects (School as a whole)

contact with the school, and the decision to go ahead was made by the headmaster though we were first approached by a faculty committee. After the workshops we proposed a systematic investigation of the school and its human problems to the headmaster and the Committee on Educational Policy, and agreed with them to do a systematic organizational diagnosis followed by a written feedback report. By February, 1970, we had some preliminary diagnostic findings, and the Committee on Educational Policy accepted our proposal to present those results to students and faculty to check their validity and elaborate their implications. We presented our Diagnostic Report, including analysis of the school as a human system and recommended action steps to the headmaster in June, 1970. That report was circulated to the faculty before the orientation meetings the following fall. This chapter focuses on the discussion of the report and its recommendations during one day of those meetings. Each of these contract negotiations linked past with future work, and each of them also signalled a shift in emphasis. Those continuities and shifts can be described in terms of activities and roles of the researcher-consultants.

The first contract was for a specific activity: senior workshops. In the context of the larger project, the workshops served as an "entry" event that allowed Gaight and us to look each other over. In contracting for an organizational diagnosis, both parties recognized the possibility of a longer-term relationship focused on the system as a whole. The agreement to a series of feedback meetings marked the start of a transition from diagnosis to action, a "bridge" between trying to understand and trying to influence the system. Contracting to intervene in the school marked the transition to explicit change activities.

Thus our activities evolved from entry to diagnosis to intervention, and each shift was punctuated by contract negotiations. Those negotiations

required an explicit choice to move on from the base established by past work. Changes in consulting activities were associated with changes in our role in the system. We began as external staff for a school-designed program (the senior workshops), became researcher-diagnostics during the diagnosis, and changed to more action-oriented consultants in the feedback meetings and interventions. Those roles are not mutually exclusive (since interventions require the understanding generated by research, and research is often in itself an intervention), but the role emphasis changed with the negotiation of new contracts.

The sequence of contract negotiations also effected relationships between us and system members, and among system members. These effects were associated with two related trends: (1) wider sharing of information about the consultants and their activities, and (2) wider sharing of influence over future consultant activities.

Each new round of contract negotiations brought more system members into interaction with the consultants. Though the first contract was preceded by talks with a faculty committee, the actual decision was taken by the headmaster alone. The next two negotiations involved the Committee on Educational Policy, whose members comprised a good part of the faculty; the committee was able in those discussions to ask questions about our past and planned activities, and to learn more about us as individuals. At the negotiations for organizational development interventions, the entire faculty was able to discuss extensively the diagnosis and our recommendations for the future, and so learn more about our work and about us from our contributions to that discussion. If one prerequisite for a relationship is shared information about each other's activities and personal concerns, these negotiations made the possibility of relationship between us and more system members more likely.

More importantly, the sequence of contract negotiations involved increasing the number of system members who participated in the decision to continue work. The headmaster made the first decision by himself; he was joined and influenced by the Committee on Educational Policy in deciding on the next two contracts; the contract for interventions was negotiated with the faculty as a whole. This widened participation presumably increased the level of ownership felt for the organizational development activities felt by the people who participated in the negotiations. In addition, participation in negotiations involved important changes in the ordinary school decision-making processes: the faculty expected the headmaster to take responsibility for making most important school decisions, and inclusion in the decisions about organizational development interventions was a significant change in the sensitive area of decision-making power distribution.

The changes in relationship occasioned by the sequence of contract negotiations can be described conceptually as broadening the organizational "sanction" for our activities. Such sanction has been shown to be critical to successful research and intervention in other settings (Clark, 1972). We expected wider knowledge about and influence over our activities in the system to be associated with increased ownership of the organizational development effort and increased participation in interventions by system members. These goals are, of course, very much consistent with the primary objectives of organizational development activities in the first place. The more the contract negotiations sequence functions to expand joint ownership of and commitment to diagnosis and interventions, the more likely those activities are to have constructive outcomes over the long run. The more that the negotiations themselves reflect the values and goals of organization development, the more credible those goals and values become as reasonable targets for the system as a whole.

III. CONTRACTING FOR INTERVENTIONS

By June of 1970 the initial contract to do an organizational diagnosis and report on our findings had been fulfilled. We met with the faculty to discuss the Diagnostic Report and its recommendations the next fall before school began.

A. The Diagnosis Report

The Diagnosis Report was titled "The Human System of the Gaight School". It described in non-technical language the results of our year of work in the school. The report was divided into three major sections.

The first section, "Gaight as a Destructive Human System," presented the findings from multiple administrations of the time series questionnaire. The report described the changes in student attitudes toward life at Gaight over time and class for the variables reported in Chapter Five. These results were very clear for students, but responses to the same questions by faculty were less consistent and more difficult to interpret. Accordingly the first section drew clear conclusions only about students.

The second section, "Concepts for Understanding the Operation of Gaight as a System," offered a conceptual framework for understanding the impact on students of life at the school. It described Gaight as a relatively "closed" system that engaged in little interaction with its external environment, and pointed out that similar attitudinal patterns had been found in other closed systems like prisons and mental hospitals. The report also described aspects of Gaight as a social system that limit the extent to which information is shared internally. Feelings of powerlessness, sarcastic modes of interpersonal interaction, lack of institutional mechanisms to facilitate information sharing, the closed behavior of faculty and

upperclassmen, and norms against direct dealing with feelings and conflict all contribute to suppression of information-sharing among system members. A closed system with information-suppressing norms, the report argued, tends to generate internal tensions that may be expressed destructively if the system is without any mechanisms for managing tension release constructively. Such systems also tend to exhibit slow or nonexistent organizational response to internal problems, and to develop patterns of student culture that contribute to the decline of morale, to learning of values and norms of interaction that are alien to the explicit desires of the school, and to a low "quality of life" for students in general.

The third section of the report, "Recommendations," proposed several action steps that might be taken to deal with some of the problems of the school. The first recommendation was two faculty members be designated internal change agents, and that they be trained and their jobs redesigned accordingly. We specifically named two individuals who had been active on the Liaison Committee for the post. The second recommendation was that a workshop for prefects be held in the fall and that study of the prefect role be continued throughout the year. The third recommendation was that consultation on administrative decision-making by the headmaster be instituted, with the intent of gradually expanding participation to include all those relevant to specific decisions. Finally, the report recommended internal dialogues between student-faculty task forces on topics like (1) making Gaight a more open system externally, (2) creating more free options for the use of time in the school, and (3) development of a more workable system of punishments.

E. Designing the Discussions

The faculty discussions of the Diagnosis Report were planned by the

researcher-consultants in collaboration with the internal change agents and the headmaster. The objectives for the meeting included clear understanding of what the report did and did not say, shared understanding of what aspects of the report seemed valid or invalid, frank discussion of the faculty reactions to the report and its recommendations, and agreement about next steps, if any.

The meeting was designed to maximize the participation by faculty in discussion and decisions without overburdening the available time by long-winded speeches. We chose a general pattern of small group meetings to consider specific aspects of the report followed by public "fishbowl" discussions by representatives from each faculty group and the researcher-consultants, with an "empty chair" to be temporarily filled by any member of the audience who had questions to ask or observations to make.

The actual meeting was divided into four segments. Small groups of faculty met to discuss their reactions to the first section of the report, "Gaith as a Destructive Human System." Each group then sent a representative to report its reactions in the fishbowl. After a coffee break, the faculty returned to their small groups to discuss the second section, "Concepts for Understanding Gaith as a System," and again sent representatives to the "fishbowl" to discuss their reactions with the researcher consultants. After the second fishbowl, the meeting adjourned for lunch. Immediately after lunch, the headmaster and the two internal change agents joined the researcher-consultants in the fishbowl to discuss briefly their reactions to the morning discussions and the recommendations in the third section of the report. Then the faculty met again in small groups to discuss the recommendations. Finally, the fishbowl reconvened with the headmaster and the internal change agents joining the faculty representatives and the researcher-consultants to discuss the recommendations.

C. The Flavor of the Discussions

The actual discussions were a rich source of information, both in conveying the faculty reactions to the report and in validating our previous experience with the faculty. This section will try to convey some sense of the interaction in the three fishbowls, when the faculty representatives reported out the deliberations of the faculty groups.

The first fishbowl began with reports from each representative on his group's reactions to the findings of the diagnosis. Those reactions were predominantly negative:

- #1: We question the validity and the methodology used. Perhaps with 400 students you can reach some kind of consensus but surely with 50 faculty members it would be pretty hard to come up with any kind of valid set of statistics.
- #2: Like the strongest point that came out in our group was that people felt that the report didn't tell us anything we didn't already know and that it also didn't give us specific enough answers and there was an expectation that the report would give more answers.
- #3: My group I think felt as #2's did and I think we needed some definitions. For example, closed systems -- we haven't read the literature in that area. And we also felt pretty much as #1's group did, that the inference to fact that was presented throughout the report was rather faulty.

Early in the meeting the researcher-consultants limited themselves to asking questions and encouraging representatives to speak:

. . . I want to make sure that you get a chance to get out the most important things. . . . So I'm really inviting more from the representatives. . . .

As the discussion progressed, faculty representatives raised more specific issues and researcher-consultants responded with elaborations, agreement, and disagreement. Faculty members criticized the lack of technical statistical information in the report, the failure of the report to deal with the general issue of adolescence, and the lack of comparative data with other studies or authorities. The researcher-consultants offered

more information about the statistical analyses behind the non-technical presentation in the report, they acknowledged the lack of discussion of adolescence as a weak point in the report, and they pointed out that there simply was not much other research that was comparable. By the end of the meeting, though the tenor of the discussion remained negative, there were more two-way conversations about the issues and fewer one-way harangues.

The second fishbowl opened with recognition of the negative flavor of the first. One faculty representative observed that the negative bias may have distorted some of the faculty's reactions to the report:

I opened the last session with a negative remark. . . but my group felt that we did have a balance, a real balance [in] . . . our agreements and disagreements with the report, and I didn't do a very good job of presenting the agreements. I have written them down on the blackboard, and there were six agreements and only five disagreements, you know, in our original session. So our first meeting was much more positive than I indicated.

This observation was echoed by other representatives, and several more positive reactions were voiced:

There's some specific information in here that I found, and I think some of the rest of our group found pretty disturbing, and I'm very glad it's in black and white. Now in trying to counter it we all kept saying, "But it isn't true." . . . we don't really know too much about this institution as a working force. . . . It's the first time in my experience at Gaight that we've got something to work with.

As the positive and ambivalent reactions became more clearly and specifically expressed, so also were some negative reactions:

#1: Maybe our group was confused because of a lack of communication somewhere, but we felt that the study was originally charged with studying decision-making process at Gaight and a structural analysis and communication. And then what you come up with is something different. And so we were, there are some very valid things in the study but we didn't feel this is what the study was originally set out to do, so we were disappointed with it.

#2: Part of that group, this is the way part of that group felt. But the part of the group that feels that way now is also feeling that then the whole thing is worthless.

It became clear that some faculty members expected more direct feedback to and confrontation of the power structure:

R-C: Is [it] that we didn't fuss enough about how [the headmaster] and other administrators use power in the system in a direct way?

#1: I think that is what we wanted. . . .

#2:We wanted to find out how [the headmaster] used power, how the administration uses power. And it wasn't dealt with.

As discussion continued, reactions to the report became more differentiated and less "global." Faculty members began to interact with each other as well as with the researcher-consultants. More and more the issue of validity of the report became subordinate to the question of how it could be used constructively.

After lunch the headmaster, the two internal change agents, and the researcher-consultants met in the fishbowl to discuss their reactions to the morning discussions and to the recommendations. They noted with interest the trend from global negative to more differentiated reactions:

R-C: for me this was a different kind of exchange than most of my previous exchanges with the faculty had been around the study. I felt less machine-gunned in the beginning, not just in the second part when people were being very obviously positive. But even in the beginning, the first part of the fishbowl, I felt that there was more of a tendency to explore and take a look at it as well as criticize it. . . .

The discussion then moved to describing recommendations, particularly as seen by the headmaster and the researcher-consultants. Faculty members asked how much they could influence decisions to go ahead with any recommendations. The headmaster responded:

I have made no decisions and no moves on any of these recommendations except those which I thought had to be worked out in terms of people's schedules and calendars -- the old business of time. And I see nothing here that couldn't be killed by general feeling. . . of apathy or whatever.

The charge for the small groups was to react to the recommendations and

prepare to discuss them and alternatives in the final fishbowl.

The headmaster and the internal change agents joined the final fishbowl since they were so closely involved with any implementation of recommendations. The faculty's reactions to Recommendation 2, concerning the internal change agents, was mixed. People voiced concern about overloading the two change agents and with the possibility of them coming between students and corridor masters. But on the whole the faculty was willing to go along with the recommendation in spite of their reservations.

The faculty was also eager to see something done with the prefects. They suggested that the proposal be expanded to include the corridor masters and that the meetings continue over a long term rather than be a one-shot operation. Both these suggestions were welcomed by the internal change agents and the researcher-consultants.

The recommendation for administrative decision-making consultation provoked considerable controversy. As one representative put it:

. . . there seemed to be some real concern in having somebody put a 24 or 25-year-old guy from the outside who hadn't gone through this experience or were not teachers or what have you. In a sense serving as advisors and being right up at the, you know, fount of power. . . .

In addition to five-year age underestimates, the topic of administrative consultation elicited challenges about the size of past and present consultation fees and the use of research findings from the study. Access to the headmaster was clearly an important issue for the faculty, and there was a good deal of concern about the consequences of allowing outsiders access to him.

We wouldn't know whether it was [the headmaster] talking or something he had heard from the outside, or whether he really understood what was going on in the trenches or whether he was being told by somebody who really didn't understand what was going on.

Ultimately the faculty agreed to accept the first two recommendations

with some minor changes. There was more concern about the third, and the eventual decision was to begin the consultation with the understanding that the headmaster would report back to the faculty on its utility and that it could be cancelled whenever it seemed to be unuseful. The meeting then adjourned.

IV. DISCUSSION ANALYSIS

The negotiations with the faculty had much in common with the feedback meetings with the students (see Chapter Eight). Both meetings began with feedback from the researcher-consultants, and in both the recipients of the feedback reacted at first negatively. Both meetings moved from general negative reactions by participants to more differentiated and carefully elaborated understandings of complex phenomena -- a consequence the process we have called "intellectual working through" -- and from reactive and passive stances on the part of participants to more proactive postures toward influencing events -- a consequence of the process we have called "emotional working through." The contract negotiations constituted an intervention with faculty in much the same way that the feedback meetings did with students.

If the discussions led to intellectual and emotional working through of the issues, we would expect changes in the patterns of interaction in the discussion. Those changes would be analogous to the changes expected in the school as a whole over the course of the project; the discussions in some respects were a microcosm of the project as a whole.

More specifically, we would expect reactions to the report and to the researcher-consultants to become more differentiated as the meeting progressed. We have noted that both internal and external change agents had

the impression that the meetings progressed from negative to positive. If changes occurred because the faculty "took pity on the youngsters," as was suggested, we might expect the reactions to become as globally positive as they had been negative. Increasing differentiation, on the other hand, would be more likely to appear as a blend of positive, negative, and ambivalent reactions.

If the course of the contract negotiations is to lead to changes in participant behavior, we would expect participants to move out of the mode of reacting to the report and the researcher-consultants and into a mode of more proactive exploration of the report's implications and the researcher-consultants' resources. We would also expect that internal resources and leadership of the school would become more active as the meeting progressed and as the issue of what to do in the future became more salient. The meeting was designed to encourage the internal leadership to participate more: the internal change agents and the headmaster spent the afternoon in the fishbowl with the researcher-consultants and so had more opportunity to sense the initiative. Whether they chose to make use of the opportunity or to remain passive and dependent on the researcher-consultants was up to them.

To further examine these questions, we devised the set of categories described in Table 9-2. Two basic classes of interactions are coded: (1) Reactions, which evaluate or describe the researcher-consultants or the report, and (2) Proactions, which elaborate or extend the report or the topic under discussion. Reactions may be phrased positively, negatively, ambivalently, or as questions designed to prove a point. Proactions may be phrased as extensions or elaborations of a point or as exploratory questions that seek information. Communications were also coded for whether they were spoken by a participant, an internal change agent, or a researcher-

consultant.

 Insert Table 9-2 about here.

Each discrete speech by an individual was coded as a single unit. One of the authors and an independent rater, who was familiar with Gaight but not present at the meeting, each coded the entire transcript of the meeting. More than three-quarters (79%) of the communications were codable in the categories in Table 9-2 with an agreement rate of 80%. Only communications on which both raters agreed are included in the following analyses.

If the meetings did lead to increasing differentiation by participants, we would expect that change to appear in the proportion of positive and ambivalent reactions. Figure 9-1 graphs the rise in the percent of positive and ambivalent reactions over the three fishbowls. As expected, the number of positive and ambivalent reactions relative to negative reactions goes up sharply and remains there after the first fishbowl ($\chi^2 = 19.460, p < .001$). This finding supports the expectation that differentiation of reactions will increase during the meeting.

 Insert Figure 9-1 about here

If the meetings did lead to increased proactivity on the part of participants, we would expect the proportion of proactive to reactive responses would also increase over time. Figure 9-2 graphs the changes in the percent of proactions over the three fishbowls. As the discussion turned to the recommendations and the possibilities of active intervention, the proportion of proactive communications went up significantly ($\chi^2 = 8.209, p < .02$). This finding confirms the hope that the level of participant proactivity would rise as the meeting progressed.

 Insert Figure 9-2 about here.

Table 9-2

CONTENT ANALYSIS CATEGORIES

- I. Reactions: Communications that are primarily designed to respond to the report or to the researcher-consultants in some evaluative way.

A. Negative Reactions:

1. Criticism, attack challenge: the dominant message is a negative reaction.

"The report is worthless."

2. Questions that seek to prove a negative point rather than explore an issue.

"You really didn't do what you said you were going to do, did you?"

B. Positive or Ambivalent Reactions:

1. Support, agreement, confirmation: the dominant message is a positive reaction.

"I think the report is basically valid."

2. Ambivalent or mixed reactions.

"There are some good things and some bad things about the report. . . ."

- II. Proactions: Communications that actively extend or elaborate the report or the recommendations, or seek to explore their implications further.

- A. Extensions or elaborations of an analysis or a finding, or a recommendation that takes responsibility for further understanding.

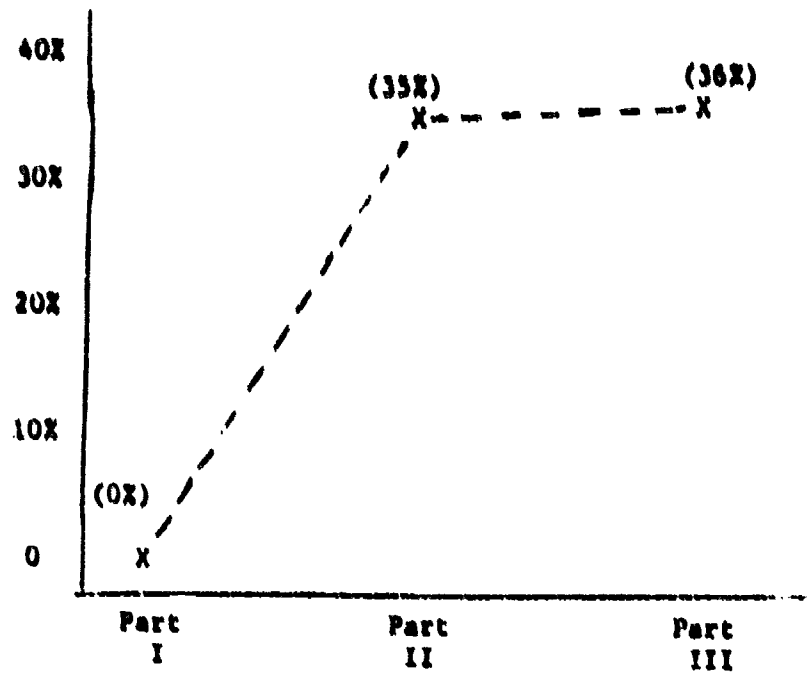
"I think we should expand that recommendation to include corridor masters."

- B. Questions that are exploratory in nature and seek to increase understanding.

"What effects do you think adolescence might have on this problem?"

Figure 9-1

CHANGE DURING MEETING OF POSITIVE/AMBIVALENT REACTIONS

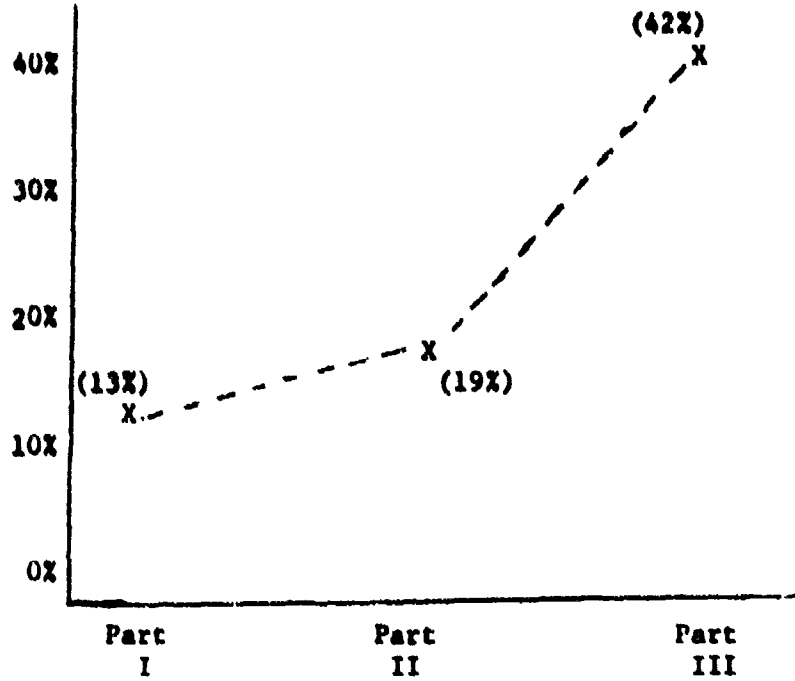


	I	II	III	
Negative Reactions	45	22	7	74
Positive/Ambivalent Reactions	0	12	4	16
	45	34	11	90

$$\chi^2 = 19.460, \text{ d.f.} = 2, p < .001$$

Figure 9-2

CHANGE DURING MEETING OF REACTIONS



	I	II	III	
Reactions	45	34	11	90
Reactions	6	8	8	22
	51	42	19	112

$$\chi^2 = 8.209, \text{ d.f.} = 2, p < .02$$

Finally, it was expected that the internal change agents and the headmaster would become increasingly active in the third fishbowl. Figure 9-3 graphs the percent of participation by the three internal personnel in contrast to the researcher-consultants. Internal participation rose spectacularly in the final fishbowl when recommendations were being discussed ($\chi^2 = 28.837, p < .001$). This result suggests that the internal change agents took advantage of the opportunity to become more active afforded by their presence in the fishbowl.

 Insert Figure 9-3 about here.

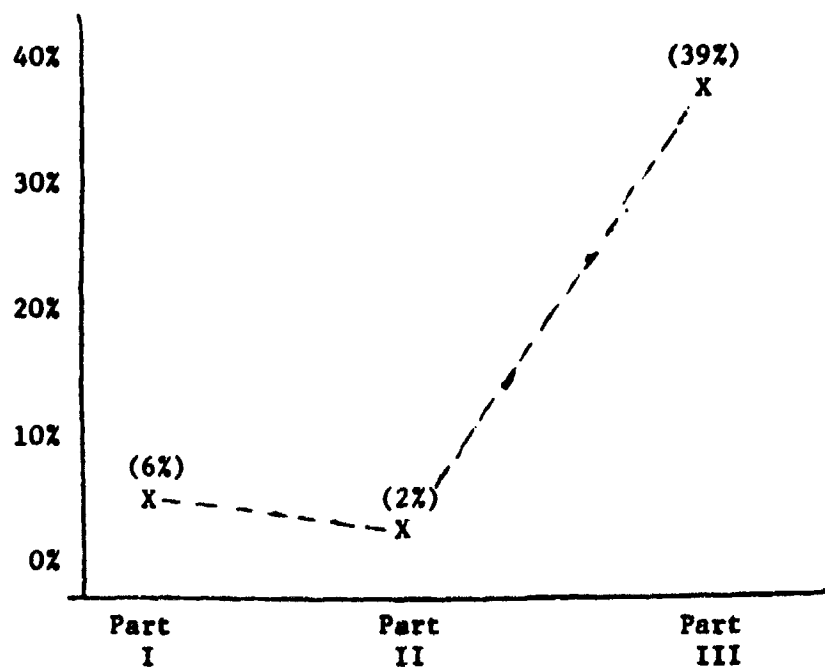
In short, content analysis of the negotiations with the Gaight faculty around the Diagnostic Report showed the earmarks of a successful intervention. At the content level, the diagnosis and the recommendations were on the whole accepted and supported by the faculty. At a more subtle level, content analysis of the discussions indicated that the Gaight faculty developed a more differentiated understanding of and reaction to the report, and that they began to develop a more proactive stance toward the school's problems. There was also some indication that the headmaster and the internal change agents became increasingly involved and active in discussing the recommendations, which suggests that the ultimate decisions to go ahead had their commitment as well as that of the faculty. The contract negotiations led to more understanding of the issues and more widely spread "sanction" of the activities to be carried out in the future.

V. CONCEPTUAL SUMMARY

The contract meetings with Gaight are conceptually interesting in two ways: (1) as a link between the past and the future of the organizational

Figure 9-3

INTERNAL CONSULTANT
PARTICIPATION DURING THE MEETING



External Consultants	51	41	23	115
Internal Consultants	3	1	15	19
	54	42	38	134

$$\chi^2 = 28.837, \text{ d.f.} = 2, p < .001$$

development project, and (2) as a microcosm of organizational development in general.

From the first perspective, the negotiations involved assessing past work together and deciding about the utility and form of future joint activities. A decision at this point served to link the diagnosis and data collection phase with the action taking phase (Proposition 6) in a form that allowed explicit decision about the future.

The contract negotiations also offered system representatives, in this case the faculty, that had not been engaged in decision-making about the project, a chance to play a more active role. Negotiations allowed for active influence and commitment by faculty members and for expanding the "sanction" of the intervention activities to faculty, two prerequisites for durable systemic change (Proposition 4). As might be expected, the faculty was able to accept without much controversy recommendations that primarily affected other people -- like the recommendations for internal change agent appointment and for prefect workshops -- but found it more difficult to go along with recommendations that might substantially affect their fates -- like administrative consultation to the headmaster. But the crucial fact is that they did indeed have an opportunity to make their concerns known and to influence the decisions about the recommendations.

Considering the negotiations as a microcosm of organizational development, both quantitative and qualitative analysis suggested that the discussion resulted in "learning from consultation." At one level, the discussions themselves represented developmental interventions, collaboratively designed by internal and external agents to facilitate genuine faculty understanding and commitment to the diagnosis and the recommendations. At another level, the discussions were joint planning sessions with the faculty to develop proposals for alterations in system behavior in

the future. At both levels, the important ingredients of joint planning for change were present, albeit with a different time perspective and focus (Proposition 5).

The meetings themselves involved exchange of information between researcher-consultants and the faculty. In presenting the report, the researcher-consultants offered the faculty their findings, interpretations, and recommendations. In the meetings they asked in return for faculty reactions. The design of the discussion created a situation in which exchange of information between the two groups was encouraged. Sharing information increased the extent to which both groups were aware of each other's concerns. The meetings in essence contributed to relationship mutuality between faculty and researcher-consultants. Moreover, the group meeting design was structured to demonstrate and utilize a series of permeable boundaries between researcher-consultants and faculty (parts I and II) and between change agents (internal and external) and faculty (part III). The public discussion between researcher-consultants and faculty spokesmen with the "open" chair for others who wished to speak provided a means for all to hear what was said and for those who wished to speak publicly to do so (Proposition 2).

In the course of the meetings, a good deal of clarification of the findings, interpretations and recommendations developed in the interplay among faculty, internal change agents, and researcher-consultants. Faculty members were able to give frank appraisals of the report's utility, and to discuss those appraisals with each other and the researcher-consultants. As the discussion wore on, analysis suggested that reactions became more differentiated and that faculty members began to take more responsibility for their behavior in the meetings and for future attempts to change. Some shared understanding of the consequences of both client and consultant

behavior developed over the discussions from the processes of "intellectual" and "emotional working through" of implications of the diagnosis and of behavior in the meetings (Proposition 3).

Examined in the context of the Gaight project as a whole, the contract negotiations were a critical link from diagnosis to action, without which it seems unlikely that faculty commitment or understanding of future activities could have been developed. Examined as an intervention in itself, the contract meetings seemed to result in increased exchange of information between clients and researcher-consultants, increased understanding at both intellectual and emotional levels of the diagnosis and its implications, increased psychological acceptance of the consultation process, and more active commitment to specific action goals.

Chapter 10

DEVELOPMENTAL INTERVENTIONS

This chapter will consist of three major sections, each describing interventions that grew out of the diagnosis. Section I deals with the development of change agents internal to the Gaight School. Section II describes efforts to change the socialization of new students. Section III describes the extensive efforts made over a period of three years to alter the nature of the prefect's role.

I. INTERNAL CONSULTANTS

The role of the internal change agents is central to understanding the interventions. The diagnostic report proposed creation of internal change agents and nominated two people for the roles. There was some conflict in the minds of the external consultants about whether it was "appropriate" for them to suggest specific personnel, but we did ultimately recommend the people we thought best qualified.

Between the initial laboratory education program in the spring of 1969 and the completion of the diagnosis in the spring of 1970, we had opportunity to observe many faculty members. The initial laboratory program called for voluntary participation by students and faculty. Those who chose to participate demonstrated willingness to deal with complex and difficult human problems. During the diagnostic phase every faculty member was invited to an interview; a substantial proportion of the faculty chose not to be interviewed. The Liaison Committee provided another opportunity for faculty members to demonstrate by their behavior their interest and aptitude for change activities.

We drew conclusions about potential internal consultants from these

experiences. There were relatively few people who had demonstrated sustained commitment to understanding and coping with human problems. There were considerable differences in the ability of those interested to deal with emotion-laden issues. Some people were concerned about human problems but behaved in ways that exacerbated the very issues that concerned them. Others were unwilling to take the risks and endure the tensions associated with operating as an internal change agent.

It was also essential that persons in change agent roles be accepted as trustworthy and credible by school authorities. Both personal qualities and current roles contribute to trustworthiness and credibility: to what extent do potential change agents presently possess the organizational legitimacy required to effect change in the system?

A year's experience suggested to us that only two faculty members met all the conditions: the assistant headmaster and the chaplain. These men had demonstrated the interest, commitment, and competence to do the work throughout the diagnosis phase. They were esteemed by faculty and students, and their roles symbolized two qualities necessary for change -- access to resources and commitment to improving life in the school. Because there were so few realistic alternatives we proposed these two men as change agents after exploring the possibility with them and with the headmaster.

During the summer of 1970 they attended summer training programs to prepare for their new roles. Investing the resources to train these men before the recommendation had been discussed with the faculty was potentially controversial. The investment might have been wasteful had the recommendation been rejected, and the faculty could have perceived the recommendation as a fait accompli rather than a choice because of the expended resources. But no alternative opportunities for training existed

that would still allow beginning the school year with new skills. The headmaster dealt with this dilemma by offering school funds to any faculty member who wished such training, and several other faculty also attended summer workshops.

After faculty approval of the recommendation, the internal change agents began work. Monthly consultation sessions between internal and external consultants were instituted. Although there was a high level of mutual respect and trust between internal and external consultants, the relationship also had considerable tension.

From the outset, the external researcher- consultants were controversial among the faculty. As outsiders to a relatively closed system we were seen as "the enemy" by many faculty members. Our close relationship with the headmaster made us suspect to many, and our affiliation with Yale University also made us an "adversary" to Gaight.

For a long time Gaight sent a high proportion of its seniors to Yale. But in recent years, Yale had reduced, by at least 30%, the proportion of students accepted from independent schools. The university's changed admission policies inevitably undermined a crucial objective of Gaight students, their parents, and Gaight faculty. Although the authors had nothing to do with admissions, we slowly realized that our relationship with Gaight was influenced by our affiliation with an institution whose behavior frustrated significant segments of the school. People would tell us angrily about injustices perpetrated by the Yale Admissions Office. Even though we had no connection with the offending office, our affiliation with Yale placed us in an implicit competitive intergroup relationship with the Gaight faculty.

Each of these factors inevitably strained our relationship with the Gaight faculty. Anyone from the school who associated with us, particularly

the internal consultants, ran the risk of being tainted with the same negative associations.

We described in Chapter Three one outcome of the strains between internal and external consultants. We lost the capacity to evaluate interventions by a multiple time series quasi-experimental design because of changes in questionnaire items. Divesting themselves of the association with the time series questionnaire was one of the first issues discussed in the monthly consultation sessions.

Internal consultant 1: I think the questionnaire poses some real problems. . . . When we started our first. . . feedback, the first thing that happened was the kids said, you are not part of that Yale study are you? And I said, 'Well what do you make of that?' And they said, "You're not going to give us any questionnaires are you?" And it was clear that when I said no it created a slightly better atmosphere than if I had said yes. So I think there is a negative thing with questionnaires. . . .

Internal consultant 2: It could be that perhaps the questionnaires could be handled in terms of using the questionnaires for our purposes rather than for yours. Whereas last year they were being used by people to evaluate Gaight and so forth, they are really now being used for us to better understand the impact not only of the changes we might be involved with but all the changes in the community.

Both these comments suggest that the internal consultants were feeling the Gaight versus Yale polarization. The second internal consultant suggests that questionnaires might be perceived as valuable if the school benefitted from the data instead of the researchers. The researcher-consultants thought that both they and the school benefitted from the questionnaires, but the internal consultants at this moment in time conceived questionnaire utility in polarized terms.

Immediately after the questionnaire discussion the conversation turned to the role of the Liaison Committee.

Internal consultant: It occurred to me yesterday that the word liaison has all kinds of negative connotations that, speaking for myself at least, I perceive our role at Gaight as related to Gaight rather than to Yale. And if we have to have a Liaison Committee to do all the work which is related to Yale it then begins to appear

that we are more associated with Yale than Gaight which creates all kinds of negative. . . waves.

It is not easy to be an internal change agent, especially when one is operating in as closed a system as the Gaight School. On a person-to-person basis we found it easy and positively rewarding to work with the internal consultants. We shared similar values and found each other congenial when we could cast aside the intergroup features of our relationship. But the insider-outsider relationship was always present. The internal change agents were men in the middle, and there were moments when their group interests conflicted with ours. We thought their negative feelings about the questionnaire were significant distortions, but we did not have to live with school members who were unwilling to examine their negative feelings. It was difficult for us to accept the idea that "Liaison Committee" membership threatened one's affiliation with Gaight. To us the committee represented structural recognition of the external environment, but to some faculty "liaison" with Yale faculty members meant giving up their seclusion. Although the internal consultants did not wish to keep Gaight closed off from its environment, they had to deal with faculty members who did. Instituting a Liaison Committee would accentuate their positions as "men-in-the middle" by forcing them to deal simultaneously with the external consultants and conservative faculty. They told us about the tension they experienced in their role, and they behaved their version of the conflict in relating to us. We heard what they said about their difficulties, but we also felt the pain that the intergroup tensions created for us.

What is most important about these conflicts is that they were faced directly by the parties and accepted as part of the working relationship. There were times when the inside change agents suffered because of their association with the external researcher-consultants, and there were times

when the interests of the external consultants were also hurt. But the relationship persisted with mutual benefit for four years.

II. CHANGING THE HAZING OF FRESHMEN

Freshmen at Gaight faced certain initiation rites. The school had a pond on its campus, located among dormitories and classrooms. During the diagnostic interviews we learned that it was a custom for freshmen to be captured by upper classmen and thrown into this pond. The frontispiece of the 1969 school yearbook showed a fully-dressed student flying into the pond with the aid of several larger students.

This picture did not come to our attention until after we had begun data collection. We discovered the practice because it was occurring as we interviewed people.

Interviewer: Are there any particular things that happen to the freshmen that don't happen to the sophomores?

Freshman: Well the freshmen of course are always thrown into the pond and things like this. . . .

Interviewer: Is that a pretty unpleasant experience?

Freshman: It's never happened to me before. I've seen some kids have it, and the pond that they throw us in is very dirty so it's not the greatest of experiences.

Interviewer: Do people try to avoid that? Is there a way of avoiding it?

Freshman: Saturday, last Saturday, most kids locked themselves in the room, because everybody was coming around the halls to get you and throw you in.

We asked faculty members about hazing at the school:

Faculty #1: I have never seen anything like hazing or bullying at this school. . . . Of course, what they do behind your back I don't know. But I never had anyone complain to me about being bullied or anything. . . .

Faculty #2: Hazing as an institution just does not exist at Gaight. . . .

This faculty point of view can be understood in several ways. Some faculty members lived outside the dormitories and so may not have had recent experience with hazing practices. Students are concerned with respect from their peers, most freshmen would hesitate to tell the authorities that they were being hazed in uncomfortable ways. But the yearbook picture and the commonness of the practice in student eyes makes the faculty blindness hard to understand. We believe that there were faculty members at Gaigh who preferred to avoid the more complex emotional problems of living at the school.

Recognizing that data about this discovery came from a few and hearing the faculty denial of the practice, we sought more data about its frequency and its evaluation in the eyes of students. Table 10-1 shows the evaluations of the practice of throwing freshmen into the pond by each class in the fall of 1969. Freshmen had the most negative views of it, as might be expected. Evaluations became increasingly positive up to the junior year, but the seniors were more negative. The juniors' positive reaction is consistent with the trends reported in Chapter Five that show the most negative attitudes toward the school among third year students.¹

Insert Table 10-1 about here.

The internal change agents decided on their own initiative to work on changing freshman hazing practices. It is obvious from the data reported

¹ The similarity between these results and those reported by Stanton Wheeler in "Socialization in Correctional Communities," American Sociological Review, 1961, 26, 697-712, is striking to us. In his study of prison inmates Wheeler found that prisoners espoused values increasingly contradictory to the staff's with longer time in the institution until six months before their release, when they showed values more similar to those of the staff.

Table 10-1

EVALUATION OF THROWING FRESHMEN INTO THE POND
BY FOUR CLASSES AND FACULTY IN 1969

Class	<u>Average Value</u> (possible range: -2.0 to +2.0)
Freshman	-0.53
Sophomores	- 0.10
Juniors	+0.21
Seniors	-0.36
Faculty	-0.75

in Chapter Five that the most marked morale decline occurs during the start of the freshman year. Although there was no demonstrated statistical association between being thrown in the pond and the morale drop, hazing did represent a concrete recurring event that contributed to newcomer's problems.

To appreciate the skill, talent, and imagination of the internal change agents in this endeavor, it is necessary to formulate the problem that faced them. They believed that hazing practices contributed significantly to the unhappiness of in-coming students, and that those practices included physical harassment by gangs of older and more experienced students. They also recognized that students could not discuss this practice easily with faculty members. Moreover, many faculty members did not believe or would not admit such a practice existed. Attempts to "clamp down" by faculty members might result in a backlash reaction that would increase rather than decrease hazing. Communications with either students and faculty seemed as likely to make things worse as to improve them.

The internal consultants decided to intervene with the sophomores. They decided to meet with half the class on the first night of school and half the second night. They began the session by reflecting on the feedback sessions of the previous spring and reminding participants of the problems they had encountered and discussed as freshmen. They described their interest in learning more about what it was like to enter Gaight, and asked for the sophomores' assistance. When the sophomores agreed, the change agents asked them to spend a few minutes alone to remember how he felt one year ago at the very moment he began his experience with the Gaight School. People were invited to write down their thoughts and feelings if they wished. After about five minutes of individual reflection, the sophomores were asked to join others with whom they felt generally comfortable. In

these groups the boys were asked to share their recollections and to write them on newsprint. The sheets of newsprint were posted for general discussion. The change agents initiated a group discussion about the recollections. The internal agents were struck by the levels of various fear and anxiety expressed in the recollections. The high state of activity and noise in the meetings may have been related to the feelings under discussion.

After thorough discussion of the recollections the change agents asked whether the sophomores could make it easier for the new boys who right now were trying to become part of the community. The change agents recorded suggestions, and then led a discussion of the possible courses of action. This activity took about 90 minutes.

There were differences between the first and second meetings. The first evening produced a high degree of sharing and cooperation, but the second session was much more tense and antagonistic. About 95% of those who signed up for the first session appeared, while only 65% of those expected actually came to the second. The internal and external change agents were unable to explain the differences with any certainty. A process of self-selection may have occurred, so that the more interested students came to the first meeting. Word of what happened in the first session may have contributed to the defensiveness in the second, if second year students did not want to relive the pain they had experienced the preceding year. Despite the apparent resistance in the second meeting, at least one student thanked the change agents for having the meeting. He said, "It's nice to know that someone in the administration cares about our problems."

The mixed reactions to the second session left the internal change agents concerned about the consequences of their actions. But shortly after the meetings on the traditional first hazing night, the sophomore class

split into two factions beside the pond. The faction who wished to haze the freshmen was confronted by an anti-hazing faction. After some loud argument, the second group prevailed. They prevented members of their class from attacking freshmen, and they sought out the freshmen and apologized to them for what had almost happened.

When the change agents described this event to other faculty members, they were told that if the study had not put such ideas into the students' heads, there would have been no problem. The hard work of the internal change agents with the meeting several weeks before had, in the minds of these faculty members, had created a problem. It is easy to understand why the internal change agents had mixed feelings about their association with "the Yale Study" and the external consultants, when thorough diagnosis and difficult interventions were so cavalierly dismissed by their colleagues.

III. CHANGING THE PREFECTS' ROLE

Chapter Six presented our understanding of the prefect role. This understanding could not have been achieved without several attempts to change the way this complex role was managed. Work with prefects demonstrates clearly how sustained contact allows the researcher-consultant to learn from mistakes. Even the most skeptical of the faculty supported our work with the prefects over a four year period, for two reasons. First, during our association with the school "deterioration of the prefects" came to be expected as the year passed. Everyone recognized the problem of the prefects, except possibly the prefects themselves just after their election. Second, the human costs associated with being a prefect were extremely high. The prefects were the elite of the school, chosen to govern by their classmates on the basis of all-around excellence and respect from their

peers. Consistent "corruption" of the best students in the school, year after year, could not be blamed on personality problems, traumas of adolescence, or overactive imaginations of external consultants. Even the skeptical critics of the "Yale Study" hoped that something could be done to help the prefects as role incumbents and as human beings.

A characteristic paradox of the situation is that community-wide acceptance of the prefect problem contributed significantly to its persistence. Since we did not encounter the usual resistance to recognizing a problem, we were tempted to accept the community's definition of it. The community's definition was particularly attractive since it was susceptible to treatment with one of our favorite technologies--the improvement of intro-group trust through open discussion of common problems.

A. The 1970-71 School Year

We began work with the prefects in the fall of 1970. We knew that there were problems associated with the prefect role because of the known difficulties of the previous year's prefects. Internal and external change agents met with the prefects and proposed consultation to help the group work together more effectively. The prefects asked whether they had complete freedom to make their own roles. This question signaled a basic problem in the relationship between the consultants and the prefects. The prefects faced enormous cross pressures, some from the faculty and administration. In retrospect we realized that our offer of help may have seemed a thinly-disguised effort to get them to adopt faculty and administration goals. Both internal and external consultants replied that they would like to keep the issue open, but did not explore the question more fully. The underlying issues surfaced later in discussion of prefect autonomy. The importance of prefect group consensus and standards, and

further questions about consultant goals.

Though the underlying issue of consultant goals remained unresolved, the consultants proposed to answer individually and then discuss in groups three questions: What are your aspirations as a prefect? What are the barriers to doing your job? What are the sources of support for achieving your aspirations?

These tasks led to a provocative discussion among the prefects. The prefects differed as to the utility of group methods for dealing with the conflicts they faced. One view held that identification of agreements common to the whole group was useful, while others argued that the prefect role called for a series of individual choices. This disagreement obviously had implications for the utility of consultants, for consultants were irrelevant to the individual decision approach.

One consultant observed that the prefects did not list interpersonal barriers among themselves as a source of difficulty in carrying out their roles. A prefect replied that preconceived ideas among faculty and students about how prefects should behave were the major problem. Another prefect said that he was reluctant to commit himself to interpersonal work. A consultant noted that relatively few prefects were speaking and wondered if that was the pattern that they would use to discuss other matters. This comment provoked a heated discussion about interpersonal barriers among prefects. A consensus emerged from this discussion that mistrust existed among the prefects, but the meeting ended as more than half the prefects left for athletic practice. The consultants proposed a future meeting to further discuss consultation at the initiative of either the prefects or the consultants.

Two months later the prefects rejected consultant help in a consultant-initiated meeting characterized by sarcasm and overt animosity. It was

apparent to the consultants that the views expressed by the speakers were not shared by all prefects, but it was clear that as a group the prefects did not want consultation.

A month later in an administrative consultation session the headmaster expressed displeasure with the internal and external consultants for their failure to develop a consulting contract with the prefects. He had not taken his usual initiatives toward the prefects because he thought the consultants would help the prefects define their role. After the abortive attempt to develop a consulting contract, the head prefect asked the headmaster to help the prefects define their mission. His meeting with them was similar at the start to the last session with the consultants, but eventually developed broader participation and wide-ranging exploration of the strains and tensions associated with the role.

In retrospect a number of key confusions and omissions involved in this initial failure with the prefects can be identified. The headmaster felt precluded from taking initiatives to explain how he needed the prefects' help in running the school by the consultants' work. We found that an internal consultant had asked the headmaster to go lightly in his directions to the prefects to preserve their cherished autonomy. The headmaster interpreted this request as a directive to keep his hands off and let the consultants handle the situation. Much of the prefects' behavior may have been attempts to avoid becoming an unwitting agent of the administration. Their natural stance toward both headmaster and consultants was to resist influence attempts. Both the headmaster and the prefects were confused about the consultation. In retrospect, we believe that authority issues were at stake but not directly addressed in this series of negotiations. The headmaster had to answer to parents and community officials about disciplinary issues, like drug use, at the school. The prefects were his

first line of defense against harm to individual students and to the school community that might ensue if drug use got "out of control." The students, on the other hand, feared arbitrary action by administrators and agonized over their roles as judges (see Chapter Six). They had much to lose if they were seduced into siding with the administration against the students.

This analysis illuminates how the consulting negotiations were caught between the headmaster and the prefects. But understanding the situation requires adding another group to the analysis. Faculty members who lived in the dormitories and shared responsibility with the prefects for social control in the dormitories were not part of the intervention plans. Most faculty members had resisted becoming involved from the outset, and the consultants had come to expect such responses. When the faculty response to the prefect problem was "go ahead and be sure to keep us informed," the consultants did not stop to think that involving faculty members might be possible. It subsequently developed that faculty involvement was both possible and essential. The dormitory faculty and the prefects shared the task of managing dormitory life. Only when the "prefect problem" was re-defined as the task of managing dormitory life was it possible to conceive an appropriate prefect role definition and the importance of prefect-faculty collaboration. It took three years of diagnostic work to evolve the understanding of the joint roles of "corridor master" and "prefect" described in Chapter Six.

As the 1970-71 school year was coming to a close, the external consultants asked to interview the outgoing prefects about the year. The prefects agreed to be interviewed and provided much of the data on which Chapter Six is based. We learned from those interviews that the failure to establish a consulting agreement was not a total loss. In the eyes of two

influential students, the abortive negotiations had stimulated the group:

I think it worked out well. I think your aims came about naturally. . . . After you guys had left, we were sort of forced to [talk]. . . . And I could see your roles in making sure that the prefects got together and talked about it. . . .

Remember this thing I was telling you before about everybody respecting everybody else's individuality. . . . I think indirectly the Yale study helped that. . . . If there's a straight prefect, and a totally corrupt prefect, the best thing they can do is communicate. . . . Instead of one prefect on one side and the other prefect on the other end and not having any communication within the prefects, that's really bad. I think that's what happened last year. I don't think it happened this year.

The prefects' agreement to be interviewed is interesting in itself.

Retrospectively they seemed to understand the consultation objectives more clearly. They may have felt some guilt for being unresponsive to the consultants in the fall. More importantly, they catalyzed a major change during the spring of their senior year: the penalty for drug use at the school had been automatic expulsion, but the prefects negotiated a revision of the rules to include suspension. The prefects reached their "position" through group discussion which required agreement between a "straight" prefect and the rest of the group, many of whom would not consider reporting a fellow student for a major rule violation. The prefects were able to reach mutual agreement and the headmaster agreed to their proposal. They ended the school year as successful agents of change, and the interviews provided an opportunity to share this success with an outside source.

The interviews with these prefects marked the beginning of interviews with dormitory faculty. The student interviews revealed clearly the interdependency between prefects and faculty. Initial requests for interviews were made by the internal consultants, and the actual data gathering was split between internal and external consultants. The headmaster simultaneously asked an experienced dormitory master to prepare a set of guidelines

for corridor masters. This master worked independently from the change team. He articulated twelve "guidelines", of which eight pertained to collaboration with the prefects. There could have been no more vivid statement of the misdiagnosis in the initial formulation of the "prefect problem".

B. The 1971-72 School Year

In the 1971-72 academic year we took a new approach to working with the prefects: joint work with both faculty and students and clearly-structured interventions. A second written report was prepared by the external consultants for prefects and dormitory masters, and the faculty guidelines were distributed to the dormitory masters.

The learning sessions for prefects and dormitory masters were designed and conducted jointly by the internal and external consultants. They included three elements: (1) discussion of the report on prefects and dormitory masters, (2) discussion of dilemmas faced by prefects and masters with an eye to proposing action steps, and (3) discussions between prefects and masters from the same dormitories about their work together.

The first two elements were conducted separately for the student and faculty groups, on the assumption that it would be easier for peer groups to come together initially. Peer groups were asked to work together in dormitory teams to develop answers to the dilemmas.

Two parallel sets of dilemmas were developed from the student and faculty interviews. For students, the problems were:

What would you do if you knew that a fellow prefect was encouraging lower classmen to break major school rules (e.g., drugs or drinking)?

A prefect, living off your corridor, informs you that he has

learned that students in a room on your corridor are smoking "pot" there. What would you do?

What would you do if the actions of a faculty member were undermining your effectiveness on the corridor?

The parallel faculty problems were:

What would you do if you knew that a fellow faculty member was encouraging students to break major school rules (e.g., drugs or drinking)?

A faculty member, living outside the school, informs you that he has learned that students in a room on your corridor are smoking "pot" there. What would you do?

What would you do if the actions of a monitor were undermining your effectiveness in the dormitory?

After the separate sessions the two groups were brought together. The internal consultants explained that each had done similar work and that now it was time to put it all together. They asked dormitory teams to discuss how they might work together during the school year. No structure or agenda was provided, people were simply asked to begin addressing their common tasks and concerns.

It was felt at the time that these sessions were constructive. The dormitory faculty felt that their plight had long gone unappreciated by the school administration, and these sessions demonstrated that the administration was interested in their problems. This approach emerged from the understanding that the "prefect problem" turned heavily on the relationship between prefects and dormitory masters.

At the end of the school year corridor masters and one prefect were interviewed about the year. We were particularly interested in their perceptions of the long run effects of the fall meetings. The meetings

were perceived to be a constructive start, but they had not been enough. Some faculty members had forgotten them. Some thought that such joint meetings should become a normal part of operation. The press of everyday events otherwise undercut the likelihood of such meetings.

C. The 1972-73 School Year

The learnings of one school year became the bases for new interventions in the next. The internal consultants, with the advice of the external consultants, modified the 1971-72 design to capitalize on its success and to correct its inadequacies. The revised intervention began with meetings in early September and included followup objectives tuned to new knowledge about times of severe stress for dormitory teams.

From the outset in the new design students and faculty in dormitory teams met as a unit to develop shared practices for handling their responsibilities. An internal consultant charged them with answering questions designed to raise their role dilemmas directly. Participants were asked to deal with the questions as individuals and then as teams. The questions were:

1. What do you see as the boundaries of your responsibilities in your role (as prefect or dormitory faculty member) in the dormitory?
2. What would you suggest would be helpful to maintain or improve the working relationship between prefects and faculty in your dormitory?
3. What would you do if you had a strong suspicion that drugs (including alcohol) were being used in one of the rooms on your corridor on a regular basis?
4. What would you do if you had a strong suspicion that there was a member of the opposite sex in one of the rooms on your corridor?

5. How do you plan to share your concerns about basic problems with the monitors and faculty members in your dormitory?

Two hours were devoted to this activity during the three day start-up sessions in the fall. The headmaster specified the hours and asked that no competing activities be scheduled for that time. This request was ignored by some faculty members, and some prefects chose to attend athletic practice rather than corridor meetings. The change agents also planned a social-fun meeting for the prefects to enable them to come together in a relaxed setting without work pressures. The prefects were brought together as a group after they began their work with faculty members and without pressures to learn or change anything. The internal consultants explicitly decided not to turn the social meeting into a work session, lest the prefects view the activity as another co-optation attempt by the administration.

A faculty meeting was instituted once each term for each dormitory. At these sessions the headmaster joined the faculty, an internal consultant, and the school psychiatrist to discuss problems raised. This procedure had been tried with some success the preceding year in connection with problems in the girls' dormitory (see Chapter Eleven). At the start of the 1972-73 school year, it was therefore extended to the entire school.

The 1972-73 year opening meetings made explicit provision for followup activities during the school year. In years past, "good intentions" about followup resulted in no action. This year a definite date was set by the internal consultant for recontracting each dormitory team to encourage joint examination of their work together.

Dormitory team followup began in early November. The internal change agent asked each team to meet as a unit and submit a report on life in their dormitory. They were asked to identify a specific problem and

describe how they handled it. Since the winter term was always a "downer", teams were also asked to suggest ways to improve morale.

Every team responded by submitting answers to the internal change agent. Some teams had trouble reporting specific incidents and preferred to respond with generalizations like, "keep the students from using drugs." But other teams could and did cite specific incidents: one prefect group reported trouble keeping boys and girls from sneaking in and out of the dorms, and faculty suggested that prefects warn the offenders and come to the faculty on a confidential basis if the warnings had no effect. Suggestions about improving the quality of life during the winter term were also offered; one team suggested that students give each other secret Christmas presents. Three dormitories adopted this idea, and it produced considerable excitement and fun for the students. The internal consultant reported that the period between Thanksgiving and Christmas was perceptively better during this year than during the preceding one, and he credited dormitory team interventions with aiding this process.

The internal change agent felt that it would be profitable for the external consultant to interview prefects in January. He sensed that role stresses were increasing and that the prefect group would accept such an intervention. Six of twelve prefects were available, and it was decided the time available permitted one individual and one group interview of those prefects.

Two important points emerged from those interviews. First, the redefinition trends of the prefect and faculty roles observed in preceding years were continuing. There was now consensus among the prefects that they would not turn anyone in for breaking major school rules. Some reported actively helping rule breakers to avoid detection. It was reported that some faculty members broke major school rules (e.g., smoking pot) with

students. Second, the prefects thought the corridor meetings were beneficial when focused on specific issues but not when they were used by the faculty to "indoctrinate" them about alcohol and sex.

The external consultant asked the prefects how they would feel about his reporting the trends in their information to the headmaster on a confidential basis. They agreed after checking to be sure it would really be confidential. The external consultant's agreement with the internal consultant and the headmaster was that feedback would be negotiated with the prefects.

The external consultant reported the major themes in the interviews to the headmaster, and then pointed out that his action violated his view of effective consultancy, since he preferred facilitating face-to-face interaction to acting as a go-between. The headmaster agreed that the external consultant be present when the headmaster met with the prefects to discuss the feedback.

This meeting was not held for seven weeks because of scheduling problems, but it was eventually attended by a slightly different group of prefects than those interviewed. The headmaster opened the meeting by explaining that he had received feedback from the external consultant indicating that a serious issue in the community needed discussion. He said that he was not naive about the activities going on in the school, and that he hoped they could have an open discussion of the issues. He then summarized the themes fed back to him by the external consultant. The students expressed various views: several were considering resignation because of the "hypocrisy" of their roles. Students were being suspended because they got caught rather than because of frequent violations; the most flagrant violators were less likely to be caught than the inexperienced. One student reported divorcing himself from personal involvement

by imagining himself to be like a judge who gave tickets for speeding without becoming concerned with his own traffic violations. Prefects reported that they rarely gave their honest feelings to the faculty discipline committee because they felt they were part of a game; they would guess the maximum faculty tolerance and recommend that penalty rather than assessing the case on its merits.

After airing these problems and dilemmas the group began to search for alternative ways of coping with their difficulties. Three suggestions emerged from the discussion: (1) They proposed forming a joint student-faculty committee to formulate penalties in discipline cases to replace the adversarial process between student and faculty committee. 2. It was proposed that secrecy about the reasons for a student's dismissal be replaced by a voluntary open meeting in which, within some limits of confidentiality, the decision to terminate a student would be explained. An open meeting would give students with strong feelings an opportunity to express them and test their validity. It would also clarify the reasons for dismissal and so scotch a very active rumor mill. 3. It was proposed that different classes live together in the dormitories instead of being segregated by age. This idea was proposed as an experiment for a subset of the school. It was hoped that the upper classmen would undertake responsibility for socializing younger students; some felt that the arrangement would just hasten the younger students' acquisition of bad habits.

These suggestions had implications for many people beyond those who made them. Not all the prefects attended the meeting, so the proposals represented only some of them. The proposed student-faculty discipline committee could not be implemented without the support of the faculty. The headmaster could implement the open meeting about dismissals if he

wished.

The external consultant, the internal consultant, and the headmaster discussed next steps about the student-faculty discipline committee after the meeting. It was felt that the idea should be considered by the full prefect group and the full faculty discipline committee. The headmaster would introduce the problem to each full group as follows: "Would you be interested in meeting in a joint session consisting of faculty and prefects to discuss the possibility of reconsidering the method of making disciplinary decisions?" Since he favored such an innovation, the headmaster decided to leave each group after he made the proposal. Second-hand data from the student group suggests that little intense discussion ensued after the headmaster made his proposal. The prefects participated in the initial meeting easily convincing the others of the value of joint exploration with the faculty disciplinary committee.

Reaction in the faculty committee was intense and conflictful, however. Since the headmaster feared an automatic negative reaction if this change proposal was associated with the "Yale Study," he omitted mentioning the study's involvement. He did explain that the idea arose in conversations with some prefects. He told the faculty committee that he had also asked the prefect group to consider the same idea.

Disagreement among the faculty centered around two crucial points: (1) trust of the students, and (2) protecting faculty who preferred not to reveal their opinions to students. The internal change agent became angry with faculty members who believed that students could not be trusted. Others felt, however, that there was evidence to indicate that students were untrustworthy and so it was reasonable to hide their opinions about the controversial matters in students' presence. The faculty group

continued to discuss the matter after the initial heat of the confrontation diminished but they were unable to reach any resolution. A week later, when the two most vehement opponents to further exploration were absent, the faculty decided to meet with the prefects to search for an alternative disciplinary structure.

The joint meeting was chaired by the headmaster. All but two members, one from each group, were present. At the outset the headmaster sensed that the joint group expected him to be directive, but he was not. Initially students and faculty expressed mistrust of each other, but enthusiasm for changing the decision structure built up over time. A group of seven (four students and three faculty) formed a committee chaired by a faculty member and a student to develop a list of alternative structures to be reviewed by the total group.

This group considered five alternatives including the present structure. It recommended forming a joint Discipline Committee of five faculty members, five prefects, and a faculty chairman. Faculty members were to be appointed by the headmaster and the prefects were to be elected from their own group. The head prefect and the chief disciplinary officer of the faculty were to be members, and the chief disciplinary officer was to be chairman, voting only in the case of a tie. The design called for re-discussion if a tie vote should emerge.

It was also recommended that deliberations of this joint committee were confidential. The report suggested trying the new system during the next academic year with careful evaluation. "Training" members was also recommended: "In order to facilitate the cohesiveness of the newly formed group it is urged that provision be made for some form of 'practice sessions' before they are faced with their first case."

The redesign document also addressed the method of announcing major

disciplinary decisions and suggested a two-phase process. First, major disciplinary actions would be announced at a general school assembly. This announcement was to include the nature of the offense and the general reasons for the decision. Second, interested persons could discuss the matter further with the headmaster and members of the disciplinary committee. This recommendation was characterized by the internal change agent as, "a major step in the history of the Gaight School."

From the perspective of the researcher-consultants, this step had a history connected to the project. When the prefects involved were freshmen, the project was just getting underway. They participated as freshmen in the feedback meetings during the spring of 1970, and worked hard during these sessions to confront some conflicts internal to their class. This class was the target the following fall for the intervention to change the custom of throwing freshmen into the pond. They were also the first group to permit sustained intervention in their activities as prefects. It is reasonable to hypothesize that this group's willingness to attempt the difficult task of collaborating with the faculty on discipline decisions grew out of successes with the less stressful but still difficult task of managing dormitory life as a team with dormitory faculty. The faculty and students were also stimulated to search for a new structure by the continuing set of disciplinary problems facing the school, which no longer were being denied.

The development of the internal consulting team was also critical in modifying the disciplinary decision structure. When the headmaster who initiated the research project retired, one of the internal change agents became headmaster. He asked his teammate to take on more influential faculty roles where his consulting skills were important, such as faculty co-chairman of the redesign committee.

But in spite of the gradual fruition of the seeds of change, the proposed redesign encountered the resistant properties of the Gaight social system. While the redesign subcommittee worked, the school faced an unusual number of discipline problems. The regular faculty discipline committee was called into an extraordinary number of special sessions as the school year ended. Many faculty committee members felt fatigue and disorganization. As a result the report of the redesign committee was not adopted by prefects and faculty because no time could be found for a meeting. The very processes that the new structure was intended to alter prevented its implementation during the year in which it was developed! Both the headmaster and the internal consultant viewed this outcome as only a temporary setback, however, and noted that the learnings of one year frequently became the changes of the next.

IV. CONCEPTUAL SUMMARY

This chapter has presented a detailed account of the major developmental interventions at the Gaight School (Proposition 5). We have tried to let events speak for themselves rather than mix interpretations with descriptions. Now we shall suggest how the propositions of Chapter Seven contribute to understanding each of the events.

Installing internal change agents made more formal, explicit, and permanent the processes of joint inquiry, understanding, and change that had become part of the diagnostic process (Proposition 1). Establishment of regular consultation sessions between internal and external change agents provided a means to develop more mutual relations among these people and a mechanism for increasing the permeability of the external boundary of the Gaight School (Proposition 2). This design erred, however,

in not including critics of the project in regular interaction with the change agents. The internal change agents alone were therefore forced into balancing the conflicting tensions between internal resistances and external stimulation for change. We learned about the internal change agents' dilemmas when we encountered faculty resistance, when they told us about the reactions to their work, and when they blocked our efforts at time series research. Each of these experiences generated feelings in us, which in turn led us to seek more comprehensive explanations for the events we encountered (Proposition 3). Creation of the internal change agent role involved choice for the incumbents, the headmaster, and the faculty. The system of monthly meetings between internal and external change agents routinized the processes of planning, executing, and evaluating change in the school (Proposition 4).

When the internal change agents contacted Gaight sophomores to deal with hazing processes, they invited the students to engage in a process of joint inquiry (Proposition 1). The internal change agents' approach to the harassment of freshmen demonstrates the concepts of mutuality and boundary permeability at several levels of analysis (Proposition 2). Rather than telling the sophomores what they should do or how the freshmen would feel, the change agents created an opportunity for sophomores to understand and accept more fully their own feelings. It then became possible for the students to empathize with the experiences of newer students. The process started with each individual getting in touch with his feelings, moved to the group level as they shared their reflections, and finally resulted in an intergroup intervention by the sophomores themselves. A process that started with each individual looking to his own feelings culminated in more mutual relationships between two classes, as the sophomores demonstrated to the freshmen their ambivalence about the

younger group's arrival. Then the sophomores were able to be more responsive to the concerns of the newer students rather than just dominating them. Essential to this complex multi-level process were the activities which brought the sophomores in touch with their own feelings and followed this self insight by planning actions to help correct past difficulties (Proposition 3).

The three years of work with the prefects and faculty demonstrated more clearly than the other developmental interventions how complex problems require several iterations of entry, data collection, action, and evaluation to be optimally effective (Proposition 6). Initially we were able to engage in joint inquiry only with individuals, as the prefect group rejected opportunities to work with change agents (Proposition 1). As more mutual relations were established with students, faculty, and administration, more information and understanding about the prefects' dilemmas emerged (Proposition 2). A change effort that had originally been oriented to the individuals in a single group was redirected toward several groups. The feelings we experienced in being frustrated in our initial attempts to gain entry with the prefects led us to seek more data and greater understanding of the problem (Proposition 3). This process led to the inclusion of more relevant parties (i.e., the faculty) and resulted in interventions with the corridor teams becoming a routinized practice each year (Proposition 4).

Relatively closed external boundaries imply relatively closed internal boundaries (Alderfer, 1974). The original misdiagnosis of the "prefect problem" may be an illustration of this implication. Early in our relationship with the school, we did not have much access to faculty feelings on this matter (Proposition 3). The difficulties associated with the

prefect role were not exclusively a product of student behavior. The tensions faced by the prefects were rooted in problems of the entire community, because the prefect role stood at the intersection of student-faculty relations and at the broader interface between the school and society. The "decay" of the prefect group paralleled the drop in morale of the entire student community. As our repeated efforts at diagnosis and intervention proceeded, we understood more about these essential facts (Proposition 6). As our own understanding of the problem progresses we were better able to empathize with the students and faculty who occupied prefect, corridor master, and disciplinary committee roles (Proposition 2). Ultimately this growing understanding resulted in improved preparation of corridor teams, intervention during the school year, and redesign of the social system (Proposition 1).

The three developmental interventions reported in this chapter varied considerably in the time needed for their accomplishment. The internal change agent installation was approved by the faculty in one day. The internal change agents planned and executed their intervention on behalf of freshmen soon afterwards, but it took several weeks to get some idea of the effects of that effort. Interventions with the prefects took place over a period of three years and moved from relative failure to substantial success. Moreover, the three developmental interventions came together in the final year. It was the same class of students who, as freshmen were actively influenced by survey feedback, as sophomores decided to change freshmen hazing, and as seniors collaborated in the redesign of the disciplinary system. Internal and external change agents had worked together with these students at several stages in the evolving change processes.

Chapter Eleven

RELEASING INTERVENTIONS

The events described in the present chapter belong to a second class of interventions designed to help members of the Gaight School cope effectively with the day-to-day stresses of their work, rather than to effect changes in the school based on behavioral science diagnosis. These interventions sometimes required more immediate reaction to events than was possible in the diagnosis-based, jointly planned developmental interventions. They often brought applied behavioral science practices to change processes (such as coeducation) which had been set in motion by administration and faculty of the school.

Such "releasing interventions" provide opportunities for members of the school to understand more feelings and ideas associated with their actions. We acted less directly in this mode of intervention than in developmental interventions; we tried to respond to emergent client concerns rather than searching out problems.

This consultation was important for several reasons. First, the diagnosis suggested that some individuals were particularly important for understanding the Gaight School, and a vehicle for dealing with such individuals without compromising confidentiality was necessary. The method proposed was "administrative consultation", which involved periodic meetings with the headmaster (and other faculty and administration) to discuss whatever he (they) wished to talk about. Second, releasing interventions provided a way to maintain the relationship between the external consultants and the school system. Internal and external parties needed chances to jointly assess mutual benefits of the relationship. Third,

releasing interventions allowed us to go on refining and elaborating our diagnosis of the school. The importance of this point is clear in the learnings that emerged from work on the "prefect problem", and there at least we knew a problem existed from the start. Releasing interventions provided opportunities for the external consultants to (re)discover such issues.

Our report about releasing interventions is divided into three parts. Section I provides an account of administrative consultation. Section II describes our discovery of several problems associated with coeducation at the Gaigh School. Section III explains how we jointly managed to explain this project to audiences external to the Gaigh School while the project was underway.

I. ADMINISTRATIVE CONSULTATION

Administrative consultation was proposed in the diagnostic report.

This consultation would begin with the headmaster and the assistant headmaster as participants, but over time we hope the boundaries of the involved group would expand to include others who are both interested in participating and concerned with the decisions under consideration. The point of the consultation would be to clarify the processes by which decisions are made, and to explore the consequences of such processes. The focus of discussion would be decisions current at the time, rather than past experience.

After administrative consultation had been in operation for a year, the external consultant wrote to the project assessment committee:

The process of this consultation was largely nondirective. I neither proposed the problems to be discussed, nor offered solutions. I did attempt to increase the options that were considered and tried to identify factors (often emotional) that the decision makers might have been overlooking. Our working arrangement left the decision about who to include in the sessions to the headmaster, although we sometimes jointly discussed the possibilities. I emphasized the voluntary character of the undertaking and do believe that some people chose not to

participate when asked. My overall impression is that these sessions were helpful to the participants, although I am sure that some people and some problems benefitted more than others.

It is now possible to discern an unfolding pattern of events in the administrative consultation with four identifiable phases: (1) a historical phase in which the headmaster talked at length about the difficulties he faced on entering his office; (2) a current phase in which the headmaster alone talked about difficulties in day-to-day activities, (3) a current phase in which the headmaster and others talked together about problems in their day-to-day activities; and (4) a future phase in which the old headmaster and the new headmaster talked about the transition in their roles. Some of the latter was done individually, and some together. These four phases roughly parallel the life cycle of a top administrator in a boarding school.

A. Phase I. Historical Reflections

The first administrative consultation session began with discussion of the external consultants' plan to write a book about their work with the school. The headmaster noted the difference between our treatment of the issues of confidentiality and Prescott's (1970) revelations about administrators at Choate. He seemed reassured by our tactics, for he was taking a substantial risk in sharing his thinking on the management of the school with two outsiders over whom he had no real power.

The consultants asked the headmaster how he was going to deal with the faculty concerns about administrative consultation. He wanted to avoid premature evaluations, but he expected to report to the faculty after several months of work to provide them the reassurance he thought they wanted and deserved.

The 'here-and-now' issue of the faculty reaction to the consultation

touched on a key theme in the headmaster's tenure at the Gaight School. He had arrived as an advocate of change, and a year in office as an observer confirmed many of his initial prejudices. But his efforts to implement change were sometimes manipulative or autocratic, particularly if he felt insecure or that direct approaches would not work.

The headmaster's "authoritarian" (his word) behavior was closely related to the sense of "powerlessness" felt by many faculty. Half joking, the headmaster said:

I have the feeling that if I ever took the time with anybody that senses I'm running roughshod over their feelings or over what they want to do, if I ever took the time to show them all the factors that have to filter through in the final decision in my own personal system, that they would of course agree that I was right.

The external consultant asked whether the headmaster thought that those most critical of him were also those who had the least information about why he did what he did. He agreed and added:

The one is that some people are not in the know because I know where they would come out and I find that unacceptable. . . and the second point is that there are some people whose modus operandi are so much further along the direction of autocracy than mine that I always have to make a fairly autocratic judgment. . . .

The headmaster noted that for the first time since he had arrived seven years ago, he now had people in key administrative posts whom he had appointed himself and with whose style he was familiar. Now he was able to enjoy his work, he indicated, and could do things like write an article on the special advantages of a boarding school education.

The discussion concerned both problems with personnel in responsible positions and intergroup tensions facing the headmaster. He explained that he was often caught between the wish for more liberal policies advocated by students and the need to preserve control and past standards held by the faculty. He found his sympathies with both groups at different

times. He agreed with students about hair length, for example, provided they kept themselves generally neat and clean. On the other hand, wider permission for smoking at school was a different matter, since it involved real health hazards. He found that he could "lose" with both students and faculty in managing such issues: his credit with students diminished if their initiatives for change were not rapidly enacted, and faculty reactions against change eroded his position with them when the change was ultimately achieved. He "lost" with the students because change was too slow and with the faculty because it happened at all.

For the external consultants this first administrative consultation provided an opportunity to hear how the headmaster conceptualized his role and his style of managing. A high level of trust either existed or rapidly developed, for the topics discussed were important, complex, and sensitive. The headmaster also knew that the consultants did not favor authoritarian management. The headmaster, in this first session, may well have been testing (however consciously) our ability to be non-directive. He provided us with opportunities to criticize or advise him in a way that revealed many of his dilemmas. The outcome of his frankness and our uncritical interest was a decision to begin the next meeting with topics of current interest.

B. Phase II: Individual Accounts of Current Events

In the second consultation session the headmaster reported on a department head's emotional outburst during a meeting. The headmaster agreed with a faculty request for data from a subordinate of the department head, partly because the department head himself had proposed such a practice in the past. But the department head angrily rebuffed the suggestion, and vehemently announced that he did not want the headmaster going around him

in the chain of command. This outburst, in the headmaster's eyes, stunned all present, he thought it was one of the worst meetings he had ever attended.

On reflection, the headmaster noted that this man's role placed him in constant conflict with the headmaster over control of the school. He recalled several admonitions from trustees and other school executives to the effect that many schools were hamstrung by too much influence in one department.

The external consultant recalled that this particular department head had made a special point of asking the consultants to study his department's operation. He had written a memorandum to the diagnostic team indicating his analysis of the key problems in the school. The external consultant commented:

It strikes me that it's possible that some of the things you see as coming out of him. . . attitude toward administration may also turn on your relationship with him. . . and you might find that he does things more out of a sense of desperation than out of a sense of taking control.

Headmaster: I think that's good. That's quite obvious. . . .
He's very good and very competent and basically very loyal.
. . . I want to do something about it.

The external consultant proposed that the headmaster ask the department head whether he would be willing to sit down and discuss their problems together. If the department head agreed, the two men would tape their session and then listen to those sections of the tape deemed most important by the participants with the aid of the consultant at the next meeting. The headmaster agreed to make the proposal to the department head.

At the next session the headmaster reported that he and the department head had not been able to sit down to have their taped discussion. Initially he said, the department head was quite taken by the idea, but he found that the press of day-to-day operations was more compelling. The

headmaster had spoken to the department head three times about the meeting, and each time he showed a little less enthusiasm. Ultimately they decided that the session was not necessary. The department head asked the headmaster to respond to notes he sent rather than allowing them to pile up, and the headmaster agreed. The headmaster observed to the external consultant that he could see how his lack of response to the department head could have hurt the man's feelings.

This particular episode illustrates several kinds of individual-interpersonal issues discussed in early administrative consultations. The consultant preferred to deal with such issues face-to-face, but felt that some work was better than none, especially if both parties were not equally interested in using him. In this particular case gain in the headmaster-department head relationship may have been achieved without direct third-party intervention. Renegotiating the parties' relationship was the important issue, and the headmaster's account suggested that some such result had been achieved.

C. Phase III: Interpersonal-Group Discussion of Current Events

Each class at the Gaight School was represented by a Faculty Class Committee. The chairman of each Class Committee was responsible for the general academic and extracurricular behavior of the students in his class and for reporting on those matters to the students' parents. The Faculty Class Committee members included those teachers who taught students in the class. Each Class Committee met once a term to discuss students for reports to parents.

The headmaster believed that unnecessary and unproductive ambiguity existed in the role of Class Committee Chairman, and so utilized one month's administrative consultation to discuss the role with the external

consultant, the internal consultants, and the four chairmen. He explained the purpose of the meeting as follows:

. . . . There is still apparently a residual concern that people don't know what's going on, and they don't know the locus of decision making. And irrespective of whether a given person who feels that way is objectively correct or not it seems to me important that so long as the feelings are expressed. . . (it) is something we have to work with. . . .

With this introduction and a brief explanation of the consultants' role, the class chairmen were able to share their concerns:

Faculty member (to headmaster): I don't think I've gone into your office yet this year. I find it extremely difficult to get into you. . . . I don't feel like I'm working very closely with you. . . . And also I find that I'm not getting as much feedback as I would like from the people who have the freshmen in class unless there is something drastically wrong. . . .

Headmaster: I wonder if it would be worth going around quickly to all four of you to see what comes right off the top of your heads. . . .

Faculty member: I feel the same as the first man who spoke. . . . I have a feeling that you [the headmaster] are the source of authority and if I'm dealing with anybody but you, I feel I'm being cheated. . . .

All the chairman had similar concerns, and they expressed them quite openly. Two chairmen also held additional administrative positions, and so had better access to the headmaster. But their shared concerns were all in part a function of how the headmaster handled his authority. As one faculty member stated it,

I'm speaking quite differently now with you here than I would be if you weren't here. I don't mean because I'm being dishonest. I just mean that if you weren't here I wouldn't feel it was as significant a meeting. I feel right now this is a very significant meeting.

The headmaster's relations with parents contributed to the feeling that he was the ultimate authority on class committee business. Parents' requests to talk to the headmaster were not always directed to the class chairmen. The headmaster agreed that he could channel more inquiries to

class chairmen, though some circumstances (such as the potential dismissal of a student) required the special attention of the headmaster.

It seemed to the external consultant that all participants left this meeting feeling as though important events had taken place. Although no firm decisions had been reached the discussion had served a cathartic function. The headmaster had invited faculty members to discuss the dilemmas of their role, and he was ready to examine the consequences of his own behavior. The consultant's role turned out to be little more than being present and aiding in the exploration of alternative ways to construe problems uncovered.

This meeting was not typical of administrative consultation sessions as a whole. There were several group administrative consultations, but no others as obviously effective. The features we think critical to this meeting's effectiveness were: (1) the openness demonstrated by the headmaster, (2) his recognition of the role of feelings, and (3) the meeting of all relevant parties to the issues. When one or more relevant parties were absent, by design or by accident, such meetings were less effective.

D. Phase IV: Transition of Headmasters

In the fall of our third year of work with the Gaight School, the headmaster announced his resignation. The decision had actually been made the preceding spring and kept a carefully guarded secret. The external consultants were told the day before the announcement. The decision itself was not discussed in administrative consultation before the choice was made public, and it had not been anticipated by the external consultants.

But after the announcement, the decision could be discussed with the consultants. The choice seemed to emerge from a confluence of factors internal and external to the headmaster, which we shall describe in abstract

terms to maintain confidentiality.

The headmaster had accepted his position with the expectation that he would stay in the job for a period of ten years. He resigned a year earlier than he had planned because of other factors. An unusually capable candidate was available for the job at the time, and the headmaster did not want to lose the opportunity to recruit him.

The headmaster also reported that he had felt tired on returning to school after spring vacation last year for the first time. Normally highly energetic, he was no longer feeling his ordinary spark, and he thought his diagnosis was confirmed by his "over-reaction" to material that appeared in the student newspaper. He had also become increasingly interested in the contribution that applied behavioral science might make to school administration. He had been asked to write a book about boarding school life, and offered several university positions in which he could spend a year writing and revitalizing himself. He also wanted to find foundation support for a training institute for school heads. Finally, he felt that he had accomplished much of what he had set out to do: a new curriculum had been introduced into the school; coeducation had been approved by the trustees, and the first class of female students was enrolled; efforts to make the school more responsive to student needs--including those associated with this study--had been undertaken; a budget deficit which had plagued the school for the last several years had been eliminated. In important ways the headmaster felt his work at the Gaight School had been largely accomplished, and he was ready to search for new ways to use his energy.

After discussions with the outgoing headmaster, we began talking with the headmaster designate selected several months after the outgoing headmaster's announcement. The new headmaster had been selected from within the Gaight School community and was a trusted colleague of his predecessor.

It therefore was possible for the two men to explore together their differing styles and emphases in the role.

Probably the most significant difference between the two is that the incoming headmaster came from inside the school, while the outgoing headmaster came from outside. The outgoing headmaster was a "charismatic agent" who came in to stir up the school, in some senses he was never really part of the community, though in his last several years he had developed supportive relationships with administrators. In contrast, the incoming headmaster was invested and revitalized by teaching and coaching students. He very much hoped to continue work with students after becoming headmaster in contrast to the outgoing headmaster. The incoming headmaster saw himself as able to operate effectively with members of the Gaight community at all levels, but expected to devote considerable energy to learning about the financial and the other externally oriented aspects of school leadership.

The two men explored several of the key decision-making issues associated with the leadership transition. Both men noted, for example, that the faculty began turning to the headmaster designate several months before he officially assumed the new role, so he began to "feel" the burdens of office early. The outgoing headmaster, on the other hand, was relieved earlier than he expected of some of the psychic burdens of leadership, and he welcomed the relief. The incoming headmaster received a "training experience" while the outgoing headmaster was still available for consultation, and he was able to make his influence felt on issues he would have to manage in subsequent years. But he also was deprived of "psychological space" in which to reflect about moving into the new role. In a way that neither man felt he could control, the social system of the Gaight School began moving the new headmaster into the role in advance of the officially designated time.

There were two areas of potential conflict as the transition took place. The first involves their stylistic differences. The new headmaster felt some need to distinguish himself and his style from his predecessor, perhaps particularly since he was an "internal" successor whose close relationship with the outgoing headmaster was well known. The old headmaster, on the other hand, felt impulses to offer unrequested advice, perhaps to preserve his own impact on the school. They jointly agreed on methods for managing conflict: they agreed that the outgoing headmaster would not talk publicly about the future, and the incoming headmaster would not publicly discuss the past.

The second area of potential conflict concerns personnel decisions for the subsequent year. Strict interpretation of the role definitions left this power solely in the hands of the outgoing headmaster, although both men recognized that the incoming headmaster would be living with the consequences of its use. Their stylistic differences influenced their evaluation of faculty members and led to some disagreement about specific individuals. The incoming headmaster thought he placed greater value on the human-emotional qualities of the faculty member, and was willing to trade some "intellectual brilliance" to gain self-awareness and human responsiveness. The reverse pattern tended to be true for the outgoing headmaster. The two men were able to discuss this issue directly, and they decided to place primary influence on personnel decisions with the incoming headmaster. This solution was not reached as soon as the new headmaster desired, however, and the delay foreclosed some choices he preferred.

In summary, administrative consultations dealt with historical, current, and future subjects. The meetings included individual work with the headmaster and interpersonal dialogues among sets of individuals. The

mode of consultant behavior remained largely non-directive throughout, and the meetings seemed most useful to participants as an aid to examination of emotional factors affecting their decisions.

II. DISCOVERING NEW PROBLEMS: COEDUCATION

Gaight was moving toward coeducation before the research-consulting team began work. In the initial laboratory workshop, girls from a nearby boarding school participated in two of the eight groups, and two female faculty members from the Latch (a fictitious name) school also participated. Girls from Latch were already taking classes with Gaight boys, and some Gaight students were attending Latch classes. But Gaight had not yet decided whether and how to admit women to the student body and faculty. In the fall of 1970 the Gaight board of trustees voted to accept female students for the first time the following fall. They chose to bring women to Gaight to establish a "coordinate relationship" with a girls' school.

A. The 1970-71 School Year

After the trustees had announced their decision, work to prepare Gaight for this change began. Committees were established to deal with relevant issues ranging from changes in building structure to modifying rules of conduct. The change provoked anxiety for many faculty members. Faculty committees working on coeducation faced difficulties which eventually were brought to the attention of the headmaster and internal change agents.

The initial involvement of the external consultants with coeducation problems came through administrative consultation. The chairman of the Coordination Committee for Coeducation met with the internal and external consultants and the headmaster to discuss the outcomes of his committee. The group had completed their work and would soon submit reports to the

headmaster. But the chairman viewed the emotional side of the change as outside his committee's charge, and noted that the difficult problem of setting visiting policies between girls' and boys' dormitories was therefore unresolved. It fell to the consultants to provide a means for identifying and beginning work on emotional issues connected with coeducation.

The internal consultants and two faculty members from the Latch School had already begun to work with students about such issues. Aided by an external consultant (not one of the authors) they had designed a "May Celebration" weekend for students from Latch and Gaight that emphasized the potential for fun in coeducation. Reports from the consultants and the student newspaper indicated that this program was a very positive experience for most participants.

Despite the student reactions, however, no one anticipated an easy time working with the faculty. Many sources suggested that many Gaight faculty members were experiencing high levels of stress and anxiety. The committee chairman reported it; the headmaster noted it; the internal change agents commented upon it. The headmaster and both consultant teams decided to design a day-long faculty conference to focus on emotional issues related to coeducation. It seemed important to have male and female staff to run the conference, since its focus was to be male-female relations, so Dave and Jane Brown were employed as staff. Jane Brown was an experienced group relations trainer who had been a staff member in the original 1969 spring laboratory at the Gaight School. She was also married to Dave Brown. She was consequently familiar with the social organization of the school and somewhat known to the faculty.

The conference was scheduled to occur the day after regular school year activities ceased. Because the current faculty was all male, faculty wives and newly appointed faculty (of whom six were women and all would

have normally assumed their duties in the fall) were invited to join the conference.

Before the conference, the Browns sent a two item questionnaire to all the Gaight faculty. The first question asked, "Reflecting on Gaight's past activities. . . what have been the advantages and disadvantages of coeducation in human and emotional terms?" The most common advantage reported was "getting to know girls as people, not just as dates," a response that was given more than twice as often as the next most common advantage. No disadvantage was cited more than twice in all the responses. The second question asked, "Looking toward the future, what human and emotional problems do you expect to arise from coeducation?" Three answers were most common for this question: (1) "differences in maturity across classes can intensify 'ordinary' cross-sex problems: result may be increased self-consciousness, insecurity, and/or withdrawal"; (2) "faculty response to student sexual interaction"; and (3) "providing adequate counseling and role models for the girls."

The conference was divided into small and large group sessions. After an introduction by the staff, participants were asked to meet in small groups to discuss the material provided by the questionnaires. In the first round of discussions, groups were formed on the basis of similar Gaight experience. (i.e., wives, younger faculty, older faculty, etc), and were charged with completing the diagnosis that was begun with the questionnaires. Group representatives were asked to report the group's perceptions of key issues to the total group. After these reports, heterogeneous groups were formed and charged with establishing priorities among the problems in the diagnosis. These activities took place during the morning, and then the conference broke for lunch. In the afternoon, the consultants shared their views of the morning activities and invited

questions and comments from participants. The observations included noting that people showed more ease in working in homogeneous groups, and that the issues of sexual relations tended to be raised more readily by female participants than by males. It was suggested that the conference might be a microcosm of faculty life under coeducation. The internal consultants observed that some groups found it easier to discuss the broad issues of the quality of life at Gaight than to address the specific topic of coeducation. It was apparent that it was extraordinarily difficult for many to discuss the sexual issues involved in operating a coeducational boarding school, though managing sexual relations among male and female adolescents was the most commonly identified issue among all groups which dealt directly with the conference topics. Several groups warned against overemphasizing the potential difficulties and over-reacting to imagined difficulties.

When the floor was opened for general discussion, the primary topic turned quickly from issues of coeducation to the role of external consultants. Some faculty members reacted in familiar ways: angry, critical, and sarcastic comments expressing displeasure with what the consultants had done or had not done. Others' comments reflected less rejection and growing understanding of how consultation might be used. Some questions could be answered (such as what had happened during the previous year) and were. Requests for evaluations of the work or for its termination led the external consultants to request that those who wished to influence continuation of the project speak to one of the internal consultants or attend a joint meeting to discuss the issues. All the consultants thought the faculty left the conference dissatisfied. Despite efforts to create realistic expectations for the conference, many faculty seemed unhappy that "answers" had not been provided and anxieties had not been assuaged. Some

faculty members seemed more sophisticated also dealing with difficult human problems, but the conference had done little to aid many people to cope with the coming dilemmas. The meeting may have aided the faculty's preparation for coeducation by stimulating their "work of worrying" (Janis, 1960), but the only positive feedback to the conference came from faculty wives and new teaching staff, who were pleased to have been included. Otherwise, the conference served as a clear signal that additional communications with the faculty were needed if a viable consulting relationship was to be maintained. The unintended outcome of the conference may have been the most valuable consequence of the day's activities. Chapter Twelve will explain how the atmosphere of this meeting initiated a full scale evaluation of the change project by a committee of eight faculty members.

B. The 1971-72 School Year

The stresses of coeducation did not go away. During the next year, without special initiatives from internal or external consultants, problems associated with the girls' dormitory arose. The first sign of difficulties appeared when students asked the internal consultants to look into things in the girls' dormitory. Later an article in the student newspaper, just before a weekend of parent visits, broached the problems publicly. This article included the following statements by faculty supervisors of the girls' dormitory:

Reporter: Do you feel that the running of the girls' dorm this year has been successful?

Faculty member A: I don't think it's been particularly successful . . . because I think we have very little leadership in the girls. There are very few responsible girls, while there are very many irresponsible girls. [*Italics theirs.*]

Reporter: What are some of the major problems you've encountered in the everyday running of the dorm?

Faculty Member A: Probably one of the major problems is self-discipline. I really think that the girls have less self-discipline than the boys. Some of them are inclined to stay up all night for no apparent reason.

Faculty Member B: . . . I also think that we must build some trust between us and the girls. They don't trust us and I know we don't trust most of the girls.

The external consultant began exploration of this problem by listening to the internal consultants. They described a problem of rule enforcement in the girls' dormitory. The internal consultants and many students felt that the faculty supervisors were sometimes excessively harsh disciplinarians. Several administration figures (the headmaster, the dean of women, and the chief disciplinarian) had intervened with the dormitory supervisors to ameliorate their punishments.

The school's position on inter-dormitory visiting by male and female students lay at the core of the problem. Students and faculty split on whether boys and girls should be permitted to visit each other's dorms during the planning stage, and the headmaster ruled in favor of the faculty's preference for a visiting ban. Some students had written their parents asking their views on the matter. The problems between the girls and their dormitory faculty were part of the larger picture of boys and girls living together at Gaight.

The internal consultants suggested that the external consultant interview the dormitory faculty while they approached the students. The internal consultants implied, but did not state, that their identification with the school administration might prevent rapport with the dormitory faculty. The external consultant noticed that the internal consultants tended to locate the "problem" in the dormitory faculty rather than in the social system or in the interaction of several parties.

Ultimately, it appeared that three parties were involved in the

conflict: the administration, the dormitory faculty, and the girls. The internal consultants had initially been asked to arrange a session in which students and faculty could discuss common problems. This approach was rebuffed by one dormitory supervisor who felt it would be a waste of time. "The girls are just worthless," she said, "and there is nothing we can do about it." But the other dormitory supervisors were willing to try the confrontation meeting. The intensity of the girls' feelings and the division of opinion among the faculty led the internal consultants to search for a different approach. They feared that a confrontation meeting might do more harm than good; they thought that the faculty did not have the resiliency to cope with the problems they had to face. As a result they proposed that the external consultant meet with dormitory faculty to "at least give them the chance of pouring out some stuff."

It was agreed that the external consultant would listen to the dormitory supervisors' side of the story. He viewed the meeting was as one step toward bringing all relevant parties together. All the consultants agreed that information from the dormitory faculty would be kept confidential unless the dormitory faculty agreed otherwise.

The interview with the girls' dormitory officials revealed that they felt caught between the administration and the students. One faculty member indicated that things were going well until the administration took the side of the students and stripped the faculty of authority. The faculty members had very few positive things to say about the girls; they described them as irresponsible, unwilling to obey or to enforce dormitory rules. Interdorm visiting, smoking, and noise were all major problems. One dormitory supervisor summarized the girls as the foulest bunch of girls I ever saw in my life. The external consultant asked whether all the girls were like this, and the faculty responded that only 5 or 6 deserved these

labels, and another twenty or so who followed the ring-leaders. (There were 47 girls in the dormitory.) The dorm officials asked what the girls would say about them, said that the girls would describe them in negative terms, like distant, cold, and mistrustful. The dormitory faculty could describe many events that contributed to their plight. They explained that they simply did not know how to handle "assyness", and that they tended to glare in response to hostile remarks. They had expressed no little direct and immediate anger evoked by students, that it was not surprising that they were generally hostile to them. They described being shocked by the headmaster's request that they leave rule enforcement to the prefects, but they raised no voice in objection. In short, the dormitory supervisors were upset with both the administration and the students, but they did not show these feelings directly.

After the interviews a regular series of meetings was initiated among the girls' dormitory staff, key administrators, the internal change agents, the school psychiatrist, and several key boys' dormitory staff. Similar meetings had been employed for boys' dorms but had not yet been instituted for the girls' dormitory. In these meetings perceptions of student behavior from several perspectives was shared to aid the flow of information among dormitory staff and administration. The meetings provided the girls' dormitory staff with a forum in which they could talk with the administration in the presence of a trusted third party, the school psychiatrist. These meetings apparently increased the mutuality among all parties: one administrator acknowledged that his behavior might have contributed to the dormitory staff's difficulties; some dormitory faculty began to see a shared "communications problem" in place of problems "in the goals."

These meetings had an additional, less explicit, purpose: they offered

the girls' dormitory staff an opportunity to learn how more experienced faculty dealt with dormitory problems. Follow-up interviews conducted by the external consultant revealed that the dormitory faculty viewed these "learning opportunities" with mixed emotions. Some of the things they heard were very helpful: they found out, for example, that problems that seemed catastrophic to them were routine in the boys' dormitories. But they also felt they were being criticized by others who did not understand their special problems. No one at the school was experienced in the unique problems of girls' dormitory living, despite the commonalities shared by male and female adolescents.

In the eyes of the girls' dormitory staff, the bi-weekly meetings also provoked other consequences. The dormitory staff often left meetings with feelings of both tension and exhilaration, and on occasion confrontations and efforts to work through differences occurred. Angry exchanges among dormitory faculty who differed about discipline were reported. Eventually two dormitory staff members who had differed considerably on discipline were able to jointly deal with a chronic problem. The dormitory kitchen was available to the students on the understanding that it would be kept respectably clean. But it had not been kept clean and the two staff members closed it after explaining to the girls that it would be reopened as soon as it had been cleaned. Despite complaints and one attempt to enlist the administration, the girls decided to clean the kitchen within twenty-four hours.

The internal consultants continued their efforts to work with the girls. As the dormitory faculty became more able to confront their internal differences more fully and to deal more directly with the administration, they also became more willing to meet with the students. But the girls became more pessimistic about the potential gain from meeting with the

dormitory faculty, and the administration became less optimistic about the faculty's capacity to learn to cope effectively with their problems. The girls came to feel that "after all that had happened during the year," not much constructive could be accomplished by an open meeting. The internal consultants took the first step of talking separately with the girls' leadership group and the dormitory staff, but these separate meetings convinced them that a joint meeting was too dangerous. The internal consultants thought the girls had many constructive comments to make about improving future dormitory life for women, but the dormitory faculty took a very "rule-oriented" stance toward future improvements. The internal consultants retained their long-held hypothesis that the faculty were more responsible for the problems than the girls. They also found evidence that the faculty were too inflexible and fragile to risk open confrontation.

But the internal consultants may have been hindered by their dual roles as both change agents and administrators. The "rule-orientedness" of the faculty response may have been a plea to the administration not to undermine their efforts to maintain order. The constructive tone of the girls' responses may have in part stemmed from their wishes to enlist administrators on their side in the battle. The responses to the change agents' initiatives may have been determined by their joint roles, and their own part in the intergroup conflict may have undermined effectiveness as change agents.

Ultimately, the work with the girls' dormitory staff, the girls and the administration served only to diffuse some of the tension in a very conflictful situation. The parties had some opportunities to vent some of the stresses of the situation, but little permanent learning or sustained change was effected.

III. MANAGING EXTERNAL EVENTS

Any long-term relationship between a social system and outsiders will be affected by happenings in the external world. The project became a matter of interest to the external world on several occasions, and it was in the "releasing intervention" modality that we faced and worked through such issues.

There was constant and realistic concern throughout our work about drug use and abuse at the school. A good deal of the tension associated with the prefect role was connected with drug use, though our efforts to intervene concerned their interpersonal and group dynamics. At one time school officials considered various drug education programs for the school, and described the possibilities to the external consulting team. We happened to be familiar with one of the consultants under consideration, Alderfer as a teacher and Brown as a colleague in another project. On the basis of different data, we both had reservations about his competence. But we were not sure what to do about our views. Should we or shouldn't we share our impressions with people at Gaight?

In the end, with some personal conflict, we decided to share our views with the internal consultants. When we did the characterizations we gave enabled them to become more clear about uncertainties they had about the individual involved, and when the school decided to work with drug experts they chose a different team.

Audiences beyond the research team and the school were interested in the project. Prior to the completion of this volume, the authors were invited to participate in three conferences related to the project. The first invitation came from a neighboring boarding school very similar to

Gaight. Before responding to the invitation the writers discussed the matter with the internal consultants and headmaster of Gaight. It turned out that the Fence School (a fictitious name) was a competitor of Gaight, and the Gaight team was not anxious to help a major adversary. Despite their reluctance, the Gaight group clearly supported the concept of sharing research findings. The researcher-consultants noted that if their ideas about change were valid, very little could happen at Fence based on an evening's presentation and discussion. The researcher-consultants reaffirmed their commitment to Gaight, and invited the internal consultants to join them in the presentation at Fence. The internal and external consultants journeyed to Fence, shared the evening's presentation, and generally had a stimulating evening. A small honorarium was shared among all the presentors.

Two conferences of a more general nature followed in subsequent years, and in each case members of both internal and external teams participated. These meetings were initiated through Gaight by virtue of its membership in the National Association of Independent Schools. In one conference the researcher-consultants' presentation concerned data collection and feedback, with examples taken from the Gaight project. The session was conducted primarily by the external team, while the internal change agent present was identified as someone who had worked closely with us. The second conference was part of a training program for headmasters, the internal and external teams, including the headmaster, jointly discussed the project.

There were also requests made for copies of the diagnosis report which had been presented to the school. The researcher-consultants cooperated with requests from other researchers who asked to read the report on a confidential basis for their own learning. But when non-research people

(such as faculty or administrators from other schools) asked for the material, we referred them to the headmaster, who we felt should choose to withhold or release the material.

External relations were very much a part of two tensions central to the project: (1) the different values and emphases between research and action, and (2) the different interests between the inside and outside change teams. We tried to deal with both members of the system and with those outside as mutually as possible. This goal required identifying and working through feelings in ourselves and in system members evoked by problems in either external or internal relations, and so preserving or enhancing the painfully established trust level.

IV. CONCEPTUAL SUMMARY

The use of releasing interventions in combination with developmental interventions flows from one of our propositions about learning from consultation (Proposition 5). The primary aim of releasing interventions is to achieve sufficient system stability to permit planned change. The use of releasing interventions also provides a corrective mechanism for potential external consultant biases. In contributing to the system diagnosis and collaborating in action planning an external consultant may become excessively involved in those parts of the system in which he has a long-term stake. He may develop blinders to client problems which may ultimately undermine other change efforts. Releasing interventions provide a method whereby consultants stay in touch with immediate client needs.

Releasing interventions proceeded by a process of joint inquiry, just as developmental interventions (Proposition 1). But releasing interventions were not designed to permit the extensive data collection characteristic of

developmental interventions. Releasing interventions worked toward greater relationship mutuality and boundary permeability (Proposition 2), but their spontaneity and the non-directive stance of the external consultants often meant that relevant parties did not attend. During administrative consultation, the external consultant was sometimes tempted to work harder to get more of the relevant parties to attend sessions but did not. On handling the women's dormitory, the external consultant disagreed with how the internal consultants proceeded, but did not press this disagreement after it had been voiced clearly.

Releasing interventions provided choice to participants and attempted to include all relevant parties (Proposition 4), but by design they responded to exceptional rather than routine events. It was conceivable that events unearthed by releasing interventions could have been converted into developmental problems. The stresses associated with coeducation certainly offered this possibility, but a change in intervention technology was not effected for this problem during the study. No external consultation on coeducation took place during the 1972-73 school year, although an administrative decision brought a younger (and presumably more empathic) couple into the women's dormitory staff. There were several administrative consultation discussions in 1972-73 that suggested that problems of boys and girls living together remained. It was agreed that both internal and external consulting teams should be enlarged to include women as soon as possible, changes in the school fed back to imply changes in the consulting teams.

Releasing interventions proceeded through the same iterative phases utilized for developmental interventions (Proposition 6), but each phase was typically shorter. Problems brought into administrative consultation sessions usually had only a single cycle. Issues connected with coeducation

had two cycles.

Although releasing interventions touched students, faculty, and administration, this action seemed to be especially concentrated on the external relationships. Administrative consultation sessions commonly dealt with issues associated with faculty and administrative mobility in and out of the school. The problems associated with coeducation were strongly related to women becoming regular members of the school community, thereby making the external boundary of the school more open. The issues that arose in connection with the project itself pertained to how learnings from this activity would be shared with outsiders. Undoubtedly, this observation has diagnostic significance. Perhaps the most stressful problems faced by the school pertain to external relations.

Chapter Twelve

EVALUATION

Up to this point, we have reported what we found at the Gaight School and how we responded to those findings. The emphasis now shifts to evaluating the consequences of our work. Did change occur at the Gaight School as a consequence of inputs from this study? How shall questions of evaluation be answered?

It is no simple task to determine whether the activities described in the preceding chapters made a constructive difference. Change processes are highly complex and interdependent. Causality may be thought of as unidirectional only in violation of the "reality" we experienced; change agents were affected by the Gaight social system as well as affecting it. Activities undertaken as a result of the study were heavily embedded in on-going processes of the school, some of which were themselves oriented toward changing the school (e.g., coeducation). One result of this complexity was that identification of unitary, well defined variables was virtually impossible.

We began the project with evaluation goals in mind and attempted to design a long term quasi-experiment for this purpose (Campbell and Stanley, 1963). Although it was possible to execute this design in connection with the diagnostic feedback, relationship difficulties between internal and external consultants led to inadvertent recalibration of the research instruments that prevented the quasi-experimental design from being carried beyond the initial year of the study.

Many change activities were undertaken by the internal consultants without the presence of the researchers. We relied largely on the reports of two highly involved individuals for finding out what happened during these

events. However much we trusted their intent and their capacity to report events accurately, as social scientists we must also recognize that they had a vested interest in what happened. The point applies to our own account. We have tried to take a dispassionate stance toward events. We are academics whose task is understanding and explaining organizational behavior and change. But we played more than a strictly academic role in this project, and we, too, have an investment in seeing constructive change occur. Part of our methodology included using the knowledge we obtained to try to change the system we were studying. We exerted influence and were permitted to do this because we were perceived as caring and as having something to offer the organization. We believe that we could not have learned what we did if we had not taken on active consultative roles. But this kind of activity tampers with the traditional "scientific" stance: the prototypical scientist does not become personally involved in what he studies. We did.

A scientific stance also puts stress on the consultative role. The more members of the system saw our input as something of value, the more pressure we felt from them to abandon our research roles. Preceding chapters have documented some consequences of that pressure, and those consequences are rich with implications for the study of organizational behavior.

In reporting on the outcomes of this project, we are also evaluating ourselves as change agents. Skeptical scientific and professional colleagues may well expect us to overstate the positiveness of the outcomes. We recognize this tendency because we share it. But we do not want to minimize constructive outcomes to placate critics who are reluctant to accept real change brought about by applied behavioral science methods. It is safest for social scientists to be conservative in drawing conclusions about change as a result of their methods. We have observed both tendencies in ourselves.

to see positive outcomes as a result of our efforts and to be conservative to avoid undue criticism. We hope these tensions are appropriately balanced in what follows, and a valid evaluation results.

The varying perspectives among social scientists in evaluating change processes are parallel to differences between clients and consultants. Clients have a great deal at stake in participating in change processes. To admit outsiders for a diagnostic study, clients must be willing to consider the possibility that improvements could be made or that their own performance may have shortcomings. We believe conflict is an inevitable part of any meaningful change process, and it was certainly present between some faculty members and the external consultants.

Conflict between consultants and clients is an important factor in evaluating change processes. It may mean that the consultants' views are substantially affected by their disagreements with the clients. They may need to "prove" that they were right on the matters in dispute. One potential antidote bias from consultant-client conflict is to develop an evaluation process that involves and is largely controlled by the clients. This approach allows valid representation of the client perspective. The presence of conflict between clients and consultants does not necessarily make the clients' perceptions more valid than the consultants'. But it does imply that differences in evaluation might be expected, and that efforts to reconcile those differences may have characteristics similar to those of the on-going client-consultant relationship.

We developed an approach to assessing the project which attempted to respond to these dilemmas. Section I describes the work of a Faculty Assessment Committee, formed of volunteers from the Gaight faculty and charged with formulating recommendations about future work with the external researcher-consultants. The formation of the committee also

permitted a final administration of some initial questionnaire measures. Section II presents and discusses the results of these data. Finally, in Section III we develop our own reflective assessment of the project, both in terms of its contribution to the Gaight School and in terms of learning about the theory, methodology, and practice of applied behavioral science in organizations.

I. CLIENT EVALUATION

This section presents an account of the formation and operation of the Faculty Assessment Committee, a group of faculty members who volunteered to evaluate the project from the school's perspective. First, we report on the processes that led to the formation of the group. Second, we describe how the group worked to reach their decision about the project. Third, we report actions taken by the committee after they had reached their evaluative conclusions. And finally we present an analysis of the operation of the Assessment Committee as both reflection and alteration of basic characteristics of the Gaight human system.

A. Stimulation for the Faculty Assessment Committee

The 1970-71 school year was very active in terms of interventions planned by the internal and external change agents. Some activities resulted in the two teams working together, while others had one team working alone--even though most planning was done jointly. The last intervention of the school year focused on planning ahead emotionally for coeducation the following school year. The faculty were asked to postpone their normal departure for summer vacation by one day after the students had left school for summer vacation to participate. Primary consulting responsibility for the day's activities was taken by external consultants, as described in

Chapter Eleven.

Immediately after this workshop the headmaster held an end-of-the-year party, attended by most faculty members. At this occasion many faculty members expressed negative feelings to the internal consultants about the coed workshop and about the general issue of the "Yale Study". A common theme running through much of the criticism was that the consultants were not telling people what to do. This issue was confounded for several people with the fact that the headmaster also was not telling people what to do. Some critics were individuals who had persistently attacked the project, so their opposition came as no surprise. One way to explain the negative reactions was to see it as displacement onto the consultants of feelings related to others.

External consultant: What did A say?

Internal consultant: We had A over for dinner one night. . . . He feels that it's an uneconomical use of people's time and that what you want to do is in the right direction, but that you don't move people fast enough.

Headmaster: I'm surprised at that because A has been taken to task by the dean and me within the last week for too little direction in his teaching and committee work. . . . The point I am making is that working backward, I can give you a whole lot of personal feelings that needed to be unloaded.

Internal consultant: Oh I agree with that, except for the fact that I'm less optimistic that this represents only a small portion of the faculty.

The headmaster remarked that he frequently received negative reactions from faculty members at the end of the school year, and he was intrigued that this 'flak' was now also being caught by the internal change agents. Perhaps the "Yale Study" was a convenient target for these feelings, since the coeducation workshop ended with many faculty members feeling rather uncomfortable. The headmaster seemed relieved that others were also receiving some of the year-end complaints. As tempting as the displacement hypothesis was, however, neither the consultants nor the headmaster were

willing to accept it as the sole reason for the negative reactions. The criticism threatened the continuation of the project, but it also had positive aspects.

Internal consultant 1: I think the very fact that people begin to . . . suffer with this thing. . . agonize over it. . . and voice their feelings about it is indicative of the fact that some progress has been made.

Internal consultant 2: My major sort of personal finding. . . would be that it is imperative, if we go on with this--and I think we should go on with it--that a much broader cross section of the faculty be brought into contact with the external consultant. . . . I think that it would be a very disastrous mistake for this to go on another year without inclusion of a high percentage of the faculty.

Headmaster: Well I'm sure I go along with that.

Prior to the coeducation workshop, internal and external consultants had met with the incoming prefects and reached an agreement to engage in a workshop when the school year started. Terminating this workshop as a consequence of the faculty reaction would involve breaking a previous commitment. But several faculty members critical of the coed workshop were favorable to the idea of a prefect workshop. (It was not uncommon for members of the system to favor having others exposed to interventions!) The consultants and the headmaster decided to proceed with the prefect workshop but to make no further commitments until a method for re-examining the client-consultant relationship had been formulated. This decision was summarized in the external consultant's letter to the headmaster:

Given the decidedly mixed reactions to my continued work with the school, I believe that it would be a mistake to make any commitments beyond the [prefect] workshop at this time. . . . Should we wish to do more than the workshop next year then I think it is most important to find ways to include more faculty members in understanding and participating in the process. I believe that one of the major sources of the faculty's negative feelings is that they have not had enough information and contact with the project during the last year. . . .

At the first meeting of the fall the headmaster and consultants addressed themselves to renegotiating the relationship. The design of the

perfect workshop had to take the possible termination of further external consultation into account: all responsibility for followup might fall to the internal consultants, and followup should be designed accordingly. The external consultant was also concerned that termination of the relationship would make the insiders decide to abandon their change activities. He reminded them,

Really the faculty cannot stop you from working. . . you are insiders. . . . Here we are making plans for what was going to happen after the weekend, which, as far as my involvement is concerned, is problematic. . . . But as long as you are willing to make the commitment--that you will carry it no matter what happens (as far as I am concerned)--then there's no problem.

When the issue of dealing with the conflict between the external consultant and some faculty came up, one of the internal change agents made an interesting suggestion.

Internal consultant: You might not be involved in anything to do with the faculty hereafter, but there's no reason why, with the headmaster as your single client. . . and with both of us internal consultants as clients in our work with student groups you can't be part of the school (in that capacity).

External consultant: Those are some ways, I think, that compromise my position. If I'm going to be that much in, all we're saying is I can't be in on a face-to-face basis.

Internal consultant: Yes, right.

External consultant: And so it becomes for me, . . . is there a new and better way to work at the school. And I don't want to collude about it. If the relationship can't stand a genuine mutual thing, I think it should end. I am willing to do what has to be done to make it that way, but not to put it underground.

The person who proposed less contact between external consultant and faculty was the same one who had supported increased contact between the external consultant and the faculty the preceding spring. Later in the same session a similar exchange occurred between the external consultant and the headmaster.

Headmaster: Let me ask the external consultant, now, how do you react to just letting things slide naturally, while working with me and the internal consultants, and see what happens to faculty attitudes?

External consultant: I'm uneasy about it. I'd like to have some kind of mechanism for making a decision for the year. . . . I can see the point of letting things drift for awhile to see what comes of that naturally, but my life is sufficiently complicated so I'd like to know what's happened, so I either make a place for the school or I don't. . . . I'd like not to be pushy in the sense of getting you to do something that's counter to your style, but I also want to stand up for my needs in the situation.

Headmaster: I understand.

External consultant: And that would be to have some kind of way of doing this explicitly that would involve a larger set of people than this four, and it would involve some fairly clear statements by people who care like the three of you and a way of examining the way of continuing by those who may not be as close to the scene as the three of you are. . . . It's some kind of deliberations where the people who are deliberating attempt to reach a reasoned conclusion. Take your critics, whoever they are, and include them in this. . . . What they do is rediscuss. . . the old report, . . . talk with you all, and talk with other people who had contact, and attempt to make a rational decision on whether this is the time to stop.

Headmaster: All right. In my opening remarks I can say something like, 'We feel it's important. . . to assess the relationship and whether we want to continue. . . .'

Internal consultant: Ask the people who want to have a hand in assessing this to come to you.

Internal consultant: Yeah, right.

External consultant: I would like it if you could say you want a valid assessment.

Headmaster: All right, that's good, because otherwise we get these innuendo, and let's just face this.

External consultant: And when they come to you, then you say to them, 'Are you willing to work on this, meaning, do some homework in forming your opinions. And if you are willing to do that, I'd like to have you on board.'

Headmaster: Shall we talk even in terms of a group that will actually assess what's been done and make a recommendation to the faculty?

Internal consultant: No, I don't like it. . . . I think their assessment would be voted upon by people who voted still primarily on the basis of their emotions.

External consultant: I don't have objections to a vote as long as you can create conditions where it's a valid vote.

Headmaster: There's nothing in the world that prevents me, even relationwise, from signing you up to work with me. . . .

External consultant: I really want to work with the system and with the headmaster, too, but not just as his private consultant.

Internal consultant: Okay, I think one thing that would be very helpful. . . would be for you to frame up for us what you would want from your own professional point of view and your side of the relationship. . . . It's not simply the school that's being served. You're being served and I think that for anybody who's going to make a judgment, your needs should be very clear.

External consultant: Yeah, because I am asking people to make an explicit choice, and I will too. . . . I'd like to make an input to the assessment committee. . . .

Internal consultant: We want the best possible decision. Therefore we want to get people who have some balance. . . .

Beyond this point the discussion dealt with details such as the due date of the committee's report and the size of the committee. A decision was taken to charge the committee with making a public recommendation to the headmaster not to call for a faculty vote. The committee would also be charged with preparing a document explaining their decision to the faculty and to the external consultant. It was believed that this document would help insure a reasoned decision, provide a means for further educating the faculty, and give the consultants a good opportunity to learn from the evaluation.

The external consultant's stake in the negotiations to create a Faculty Assessment Committee was not small. He wanted to continue working with the Gaight School but perceived a real possibility that faculty reactions would result in premature termination. The solution offered by the headmaster and internal consultants, continuing to work just with them, was not acceptable for two kinds of reasons. First, he believed that a major part of the problem was that adequate steps to keep the faculty informed had not been taken. To proceed further without dealing with this problem directly would

be to lend support to what he believed to be a common but unproductive method of conflict resolution in the school. Second, he believed that trying to understand the faculty-consultant conflict could lead to important learning. By advocating formation of a faculty committee, the consultant believed he was increasing the likelihood of terminating the relationship. But he also believed that the committee's work would substantially increase his learning. Moreover, he believed that if the committee really scrutinized change activities, they would conclude that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages. In that event, the committee work could lead to learning and an improved relationship for clients and consultant.

It might be argued that the external consultant was using the threat of leaving to get what he wanted, and that the clients agreed primarily to please him. It is clear that the external consultant used his influence on his own behalf, but it seemed to him that the creation of a faculty review group served the interests of the school, headmaster, and internal consultants as well. If the committee recommended termination, the headmaster and internal consultants could find another external consultant to work just with them. If the committee recommended continuing in a more effective mode, all would benefit.

The decision to form an autonomous faculty assessment group was achieved only by working through a number of related tensions. The negative faculty reaction to the external consultants could be minimized by several explanations: for example, faculty members always had grievances at the end of the academic year and transferred them to the external consultants; alternatively, some faculty members projected their own inadequacies onto the consultants. If these arguments explained the negative reactions, the internal and external consultants did not have to explore the criticisms further. But all parties felt uncomfortable with this resolution, and

pushed for a more thorough examination of the data.

B. Operation of the Faculty Assessment Committee

Several weeks after the school year began, the Faculty Assessment Committee was formed. It consisted of six volunteer members: three members had criticized the project the preceding spring; two members had worked with the liaison committee which helped with the diagnostic study; and one member came from the newly appointed female faculty. Two committee members were influential with the faculty, the others were less central. The group's composition offered substantial breadth in terms of the faculty's reaction to the project.

At the first meeting of the Faculty Assessment Committee, the headmaster, in the presence of the external consultant, gave the committee its charge.

Headmaster: You interview the external consultant and get from him what he thinks the project has been up to. . . . I would like from this particular group, which you have constituted yourselves [for] each of you has come forward and none of you was elected or appointed, your own reactions as to what you think has been accomplished if anything. . . .

Committee member: One question I would have is. . . [about] the work the external consultant did with you and other administrators. You'll probably feed him your feelings about that, but we may not know. . . whether you think it is accomplishing your ends. . . .

Headmaster: If you think that should be part of your deliberations . . . I'd be very happy to [tell you]. Actually it might be an interesting exercise for you just to fire stuff at the external consultant and then have us meet again where it's with me and see what you [learn] by comparing my perceptions with his. . . . But again I think I'd feel best if this would have the least amount of taint [from me]. . . if I really left the proceeding up to you. All I need finally is the sense from you of what you think has or has not been done and how we might proceed.

External consultant: I also ask that I get. . . the final outcome of this group--whatever the decisions are, whatever the reasons are. . . . I'd like to have access to that as well as the yes or no.

The headmaster then left. The first few minutes of the committee's life

revealed a number of factors relevant to its decisions. By all of his manifest behavior the headmaster told the committee to act autonomously. He did not even appoint a chairman, leaving that choice to the committee members themselves. He once suggested a way to proceed in response to a question but even there cautioned himself publicly not to determine ("taint") how the group operated. One had a sense that he was trying very hard to give the group an impartial charge. But his effort was not missed by the committee members. Some may have inferred that he was signaling the committee that his preference was to continue the relationship. The committee did invite him to meet with them and he readily accepted.

The one question raised pertained to the administrative consultation, and asked for the headmaster's perceptions of that activity. This issue represented the "tip of an iceberg" since it later appeared that consultants were not fulfilling faculty expectations about how they would deal with the headmaster.

After the headmaster left, the committee began questioning the external consultant. The consultant had recently prepared a report on the role of prefects and corridor masters (an early draft of Chapter Six). This report was contrasted with the one given the preceding year which addressed itself to the damaging effects of the entire school (an early draft of Chapter Five). Faculty response to the second report was more positive than the reactions to the first. They criticized the first report because it was not "indicting" enough, held back information, and had not told people how to make changes.

This view of the two reports contrasted sharply with the consultant's. He thought that the first report was more indicting than the second, and that the second was more supportive and empathic with the dilemmas of students and faculty than the first. The committee remembered faculty reactions to the first report as "belaboring the obvious" while the consultant

thought that the teachers felt punished by the document. Committee members remarked that the second report provoked new insights about rule enforcement and directed action based on the findings. But the first report contained explicit recommendations while the second had none. It was apparent that the committee had perceptions of the consultants' activities that diverged from the consultant's own.

The headmaster's role and behavior had a way of sliding into the conversation. For example:

Committee member: I think they were expecting something like the Harris poll.

External consultant: What do you mean by like the Harris poll?

Committee member: An opinion survey where you can see that so many percentage thought the headmaster was an S.O.B. . . .

Committee member: I was thinking more in terms of . . . the original report was very cautious, and so I think people were expecting something with a lot more teeth, something that threatened people a lot more. . . . I know there were a lot of people who thought that it was high time he [the headmaster] got his comeuppance. . . .

The consultant pointed out in response that he had always stated that the study would not "name names" and that he considered that it would be unethical to do so. After this comment, the committee deliberations changed in tone and substance. One committee member indicated that he had profited from the second report.

Committee member: I felt that [the second report] was extremely helpful. . . . I found myself being identified with or identifying with the students. . . . All of a sudden I could see a lot of their problems better than I did before which makes it so much easier for me then to be, to try to be the kind of corridor master who's going to help them.

From this point the committee moved to an exploratory discussion of how the school community might be better designed for learning about human relations. Later, the committee refocused the discussion again when a member asked, "Where do we go from here?" This led the committee to talk with the

consultant about its task and how it might gather further data.

The meeting produced mixed feelings in the external consultant. In the first part of the session he felt harshly attacked by the committee, sometimes for behaving ethically. He was also gratified to learn that one report was received positively, but he was chagrined to hear that the positive reactions were founded on distorted perceptions of the document. But he sensed a positive trend as the meeting progressed and left the session with the idea that it had increased the odds of continuing. The external consultant also submitted some additional written material to the committee; a brief history of the relationship and copies of all written reports connected to the project. The point of making these documents available was to call the committee's attention to the fact that all recommendations made in the original report had been acted upon.

The meeting between the external consultant and the evaluation committee marked a turning-point similar to the shift from diagnosis to action described in Chapter Nine. There were two transition points in the meeting: (1) when the external consultant reminded the group of his commitment to confidentiality, and (2) when a committee member asked the group about next steps. The content coding system used in Chapter Nine to analyze the contract discussions was applied to this meeting, which lasted approximately 90 minutes. Similar results were observed. Less than 10% of the comments during the first portion of the meeting coded as positive reactions in contrast to more than 40% of the communications in the last two sections. Only 14% of the comments during the first portion of the meeting were proactive in contrast to more than 65% of the comments during the last two sections. The external consultant talked 38% of the time during the first portion, 15% during the second portion, and 43% during the last section. In short, during this meeting the discussion became increasingly positive, proactive,

and shared as time passed.

Between this initial meeting and the next consultation session one month later, the assessment committee did only part of its work. The headmaster had asked for a recommendation by this time, and the committee had interviewed the internal consultants and the headmaster about the project during the month. They had intended to survey the faculty and student leaders but had not yet done so. The consultant was informed by the internal consultants that they had spent some, but not enough, time with the committee; they had described their consultation activities during the previous year, but had become bogged down in a lengthy and unsatisfying discussion of the administrative consultation. The headmaster reported that he had met at length with the committee and had discussed in detail his consultation sessions. He was pleased about his interaction with the committee, but upset that the group had not done its work completely. He told the external consultant that the committee would probably recommend continuing the relationship.

When the external consultant met the committee later in the day, he was informed of their decision by the group's chairman.

Chairman: We didn't have time to complete the process we set for ourselves. . . . I had to ask the committee to give a recommendation on a go or no go. It developed there that it was go, but it also developed in the discussions that there were some reservations, particularly in the questionnaire aspect of it.

Committee member: We feel that the consultation was very very worthwhile. . . . Some of us feel that the questionnaire has a negative attitude or a negative approach. . . . Would you consider serving the school on a consultation basis only?

External consultant: The answer to consultation alone would be no Part of the business of being here is to learn on a research basis [but] I don't think the questionnaire. . . has to be the instrument for learning. . . . We're willing to talk. . . with anyone who want to invest themselves on the methods we use for research and live with the possibility that the questionnaire wouldn't be used anymore. . . .

The committee was also concerned that the school would be identified when the research was made public, in spite of promises that it would be unidentified in any printed materials. Some of this concern turned out to flow from the fact that members of the administration had loaned copies of the diagnostic study to other schools.

The chairman of the Faculty Assessment Committee read an initial draft of this chapter to check it for accuracy and to explore in more detail the ways in which the committee reached its decision. We particularly wanted to check how much the committee had been biased by its composition and by the views of the headmaster.

The chairman reported that all of the committee members were genuine volunteers and that some people had changed their minds in the course of learning about the project. He described himself "a distant ally of the project." In fact he had been chosen chairman of the Faculty Forum, which grew out of our initial entry into the school. He confirmed that the headmaster's words had played an important part in the decision to recommend continuing the project, but it was more the headmaster's manner of expression than his wish to continue that governed the committee's decision. The headmaster had communicated to the committee in a very human and personal way, and he had helped the faculty members gain insight into his dilemmas as an administrator. The committee then began to consider the possibility that some objections to the project were based on ignorance and scape-goating. Committee members left their meeting with the headmaster with a sense that "he's human," and these sentiments were directly expressed in their report to the faculty:

The headmaster is particularly enthusiastic about these sessions (the administrative consultation). He feels that the airing of tensions and conflicts in the presence of a third outside party made his job easier in that the energy used to

suppress irritations and conflict was now released for other purposes. He firmly believes that he could not have led in the initiation of co-education and term contained courses at Gaight without these sessions and the help of the external consultant.

The chairman noted that the committee did not end their deliberations with wild enthusiasm for the project, but they were willing to let the work continue.

C. Post Decision Activities for the Assessment Committee

To inform the faculty about their decision and its background, the committee prepared a short history of the project. This document and a brief questionnaire focused on the decision, the research issues, and areas for further inquiry and consultation were circulated to all faculty members and elected student leaders in each class in subsequent months.

The history showed that the committee had been thorough. The account began by identifying critical events in the community which were associated with the entry of the researcher-consultants. It summarized the major conclusions of the diagnostic report, spelled out the three recommendations, and described what had happened to each. The committee used a quotation from the external consultant to describe the administrative consultation which specified a number of key elements in the process: it was non-directive, attended to emotional factors in decision making, and was voluntary. The history acknowledged problems with faculty contact and with the questionnaire administration. The committee suggested itself as a remedy for these problems:

We of the Committee are therefore attempting to become a vehicle of communication between Yale and the school. We hope to keep faculty and students informed as well as involving them as much as possible with the Yale study.

Attached to the history was a questionnaire designed to elicit reactions to the report. This instrument included fixed alternative open-ended

questions. The package was sent to 110 people throughout the community, and 33 returned the questionnaire. More than three-fourths of the respondents said they would be willing to fill out questionnaires, participate in interviews, and use an outside consultant in their groups. More than 60% of the respondents, however, said that they were dissatisfied with the questions used on past questionnaires. From these data it would seem that those respondents endorsed the spirit and content of the Assessment Committee's decision. The consultation was perceived as valuable, and people were willing to provide data by interviews and questionnaires. But one particular questionnaire was a great source of unhappiness.

Open-ended responses provided further data: more than 30 areas for further inquiry and consultation were identified. The two most frequently mentioned subjects were coeducation problems and dormitory faculty dilemmas. The internal and external consultants had been working with coeducation issues for some time, and work on dormitory life had been the focus of our attention from the outset of the study. These responses confirmed both current efforts and previous diagnoses.

At the same time there were a number of critical and angry responses. The following response epitomizes the antagonistic point of view:

I don't need a Yale Study group to tell me that I am not a good listener, nor that my fellow teachers aren't, nor that the students aren't. I already know this, and this is all that the Yale Study has told us. If other people have to be told this by Yale, and not by their fellows, Heaven help us!

I think the Yale people are sensitive people looking for peace on earth, as am I, but they are naive enough to believe they will achieve it. We all have all sorts of 'animal' qualities for which there are already many organizations involved in keeping us in check. We don't need one more. The school is confused enough.

P.S. This sounds a little bitter. I don't believe it is. This is a frank statement of my feelings about the Yale Study. These feelings probably stem from the comment in this report that most of the faculty never knew what was going on. (We were uninformed.) When the quality of life is apparently being affected by an outside group, and one doesn't know how or why, one becomes uneasy!

Three public statements about the committee's recommendation also appeared: one in the student newspaper; one in the Alumni Bulletin (written by the faculty); and one in a memorandum from the headmaster, but their flavor is captured in the following:

Newspaper: The Yale Assessment Committee has decided to continue the Yale Study. . . feels that the study is important, but that the method of acquiring data is inadequate. . . .

Alumni Bulletin: The School-Yale Assessment Committee will continue to utilize and work with the Department of Administrative Sciences at Yale University. Professor Alderfer and Dave Brown will become remote consultants. The relationship between the school and Yale will not be as intense as it has been. . . .

Headmaster: I quite like your recommendations and your general perspective. . . . Let me only reiterate my faith in the aid already extended the school via the Yale Group. . . even as we seek to be able to generate these perspectives and ideas from within our own community.

The positive thrust of the committee recommendation is tempered by the low response rate to their questionnaire, the negative reactions written on the questionnaire, and the mixed community reactions that greeted the committee's recommendation.

Only 30% of the people contacted answered the questionnaire. Most faculty members and student leaders chose not to become involved in even an anonymous and brief way. The committee's efforts to act impartially and to give individuals a chance to react evoked responses from less than a third of the influential members of the community. Apathy and mistrust remained substantial problems in the system. While the committee was able to work, it provided no panacea. After the decision the committee attempted to transform itself into an action group dedicated to working with the internal consultants and communicating their activities to the rest of the community. Student members were recruited and efforts to combat systemic apathy made. But it was late in the school year; members of the committee were tired; and they were encouraged to abandon the effort by one of the internal change

agents.

D. Understanding the Operation of the Assessment Committee

Born out of dissatisfaction, nurtured on conflict, terminated in apathy, the assessment committee could hardly have represented better a microcosmic picture of the Gaight School and its relation to the "Yale Study". Despite the emotional tensions surrounding its operation, however, the group completed its task of reaching a decision on continuation and helped to clarify and demystify the relationship of the external consultants to the school. The forces for changing the human quality of the social system were precariously balanced, and the committee aided for a time the movement of the school community toward more open and mutual relationships. The group also helped the consultants learn about some unexamined characteristics of their relationship with the system.

The committee unearthed a set of expectations held by some faculty members about the consultants and the headmaster. A group of faculty hoped the consultants would publicly "indict" the headmaster. When these expectations were not fulfilled and the consultants seemed to be working with rather than against him, they were frustrated. They turned on the consultants for failing to tell the community how to change.

Perhaps because of its place "in the middle", the committee did not proceed rapidly with its task, did not obtain all the data it desired before making a judgment, and did not do full justice to the work of the internal consultants. The committee sat between an administration (including the change agents) basically in favor of the project and a faculty either indifferent or hostile to it. The more the committee learned about the project from the headmaster, internal change agents, external consultants, and written reports, the more favorable they became. They even took on an

advocacy role in presenting a project to the school leaders. As they moved in this direction, however, they themselves came closer to being community change agents, and so had to face (via the data from their own questionnaires) the same kind of anger and inertia confronted by the internal and external change agents. In addition, the school year was passing as the committee worked, and the oppressive forces of the winter term seemed to affect the committee as well as the rest of the school.

The committee's work demonstrated in yet another way the antipathy of the community for questionnaires. But in reconfirming the negative reaction to questionnaires, the committee also provided us with the last administration of a short form of the original diagnostic instrument. These data provide an interesting complement to the committee's assessment in the next section.

Caught between representing faculty members who wished to end the change project and administrators who wished to continue it, the committee decided to support the forces for change. What seemed most significant to them was not that the headmaster wanted to continue, but how he expressed that desire. As a person he seemed more complex and human than before--perhaps more vulnerable. The committee seemed to praise the releasing interventions (after they understood them), and either to ignore or repudiate the extensive developmental interventions represented by the research and the internal change agent projects. Perhaps the indirect message is that the discomfort was great enough that they welcomed efforts to relieve the pain created by the human system of the school, but that they still were not able to understand or appreciate long term efforts directed toward changing that system.

II. RESEARCH EVALUATION

While the Faculty Assessment Committee worked, we also readministered parts of the original diagnostic instruments administered in November 1969. Because the passage of the school year had an effect on some measures, it was important that readministration of the questionnaires happen in November again in 1971. Otherwise, observed changes might be explained as well by passage of the school year as by the interventions. The instrument administered in November 1971 contained three classes of measures: (1) attitude measures of general satisfaction, involvement, and growth from academic activities, (2) reports of the frequency of significant events, some the targets of interventions; and (3) perceptions of the amount of sarcasm in the school. This section presents the results of analyses of these quantitative indicators, and attempts to determine what changes might be associated with the intervention activities.

A. Attitude Measures

Comparison of the attitude measures did not cover a two year period between 1969 and 1971, as the other measures did, for reasons described in Chapter Three. When the questionnaire began to provoke increasing resistance, efforts were made to shorten it. The external consultants left the final printing of the instrument to the internal change agents, and they reduced the number of items in each scale and changed the wording of the items in slight but meaningful ways (see Chapter Three, Table 3-3). As a consequence, it was not possible to compare the November 1969 satisfaction, involvement, and growth from academic activities scales with those of November 1971. Instead we shall compare November 1970 with November 1971.

Table 12-1 shows the results of the attitude analyses for all students

and then for students split by residence and by class. There was significantly greater satisfaction in 1971 than in 1970 among students. Among the various subgroup breakdowns, only the boarding students showed significant positive changes, but the insignificant changes for the other groups were all in the positive direction. Neither of the other attitude measures, involvement or growth, showed significant differences.

 Insert Table 12-1 about here.

B. Significant Events

The diagnostic interviews uncovered a number of "significant events" in school life, which represented especially constructive or destructive processes. Initially these events were discovered as we listened to individual students describe what happened to them or what they had witnessed at the school. These events struck us potentially high impact happenings only if they occurred with regular frequency. We included them in one diagnostic questionnaire to demonstrate some empathy with the system (see Chapter Three) and to explore the perceived frequency of the events. Evaluation measures were also included to see what values were placed on the events by system members. Two of these events became targets for intervention activities.

One event concerned harrassment of freshmen by sophomores and other upper classmen: throwing freshmen into the school pond. Some freshmen reported that they protected themselves by locking themselves in their rooms for entire days. Freshmen could choose between the other-imposed harrassment if they ventured outside, or they could select self-imposed confinement by staying inside with the doors locked.

As described in Chapter Ten, the internal consultants designed an

Table 12-1.

Comparison of Student Attitudes on Satisfaction, Involvement, and Growth from Academic Activities between November 1970 and November 1971

	November 1970	November 1971	Direction of Change	t	p
<u>All students</u>					
satisfaction	6.15	6.74	more	2.20	.03
involvement	5.70	5.82		.57	n.s.
academic growth	1.56	1.71		.88	n.s.
<u>Boarding students</u>					
satisfaction	5.57	6.60	more	3.01	.003
involvement	5.61	5.99		1.31	n.s.
academic growth	1.29	1.69	more	1.74	.13
<u>Day students</u>					
satisfaction	6.53	7.30		.82	n.s.
involvement	5.41	5.16		.29	n.s.
academic growth	2.12	1.78		.49	n.s.
<u>Freshmen</u>					
satisfaction	7.47	8.12		1.26	n.s.
involvement	6.25	5.70		1.14	n.s.
academic growth	2.30	2.46		.46	n.s.
<u>Sophomores</u>					
satisfaction	5.87	6.41		1.06	n.s.
involvement	5.10	5.29		.44	n.s.
academic growth	1.72	1.57		.45	n.s.
<u>Juniors</u>					
satisfaction	5.67	6.27		1.13	n.s.
involvement	5.62	5.89		.67	n.s.
academic growth	1.22	1.60		1.19	n.s.
<u>Seniors</u>					
satisfaction	6.10	6.31		.40	n.s.
involvement	6.08	6.46		.80	n.s.
academic growth	1.23	1.27		.11	n.s.

intervention to change that behavior and carried it out in the fall of 1970. They subsequently reported that their intervention seemed to work, although not without causing some turbulence within the sophomore class. As far as we know, the 1970-71 freshman class was not harrassed by the sophomores. The intervention seemed to break a student "tradition", and we were particularly interested to see if this behavior would remain changed the following fall without further intervention. Would freshmen who had been less harrassed by upper classmen harrass the lower classmen who followed them less in turn?

The data shown in Table 12-2 suggest that the behavior remained changed. Students throughout the school reported a lower frequency of freshmen being thrown into the pond by upper classmen in November 1971 than they did in November 1969. The results also indicate that the protective self-confinement by freshmen also decreased. The credibility of these changes is increased by the groups of students who report the most significant drops.

The class that received the intervention--the sophomores of 1970-71 who became the juniors of 1971-72--reported significantly less throwing of freshmen into the pond. Their behavior was consistent with their perception, if reports gathered by the internal change agents were accurate. Trends in their data suggest that they believed fewer freshmen were hiding in their rooms, but these results were not statistically significant. The sophomore class of 1971-72 had been the freshman class of 1970-71. They were the recipients of less harrassment if the intervention worked, and they reported significantly less harrassment and a trend toward less freshman self-confinement. The freshmen themselves reported significantly less self-confinement and a trend toward less harrassment.

It appears that the pattern of freshman harrassment decreased after

intervention carried out by the internal change agents: and that the change persisted a year beyond its inception. Associated with less direct harrassment was a lower need for self protection, so fewer of the subsequent year's freshmen reported self-confinement to avoid upper classmen.

Insert Table 12-2 about here.

Another change relevant to freshman harrassment appears in Figure 12-1 which shows how the practice of throwing freshmen into the pond was evaluated in November 1969 and in November 1971. When the original diagnostic study was done, the practice was viewed differently by different classes. Freshmen had the most negative opinion of the practice, and juniors demonstrated the most positive view of it. In fact, Juniors reported a positive evaluation of the activity. The shape of the evaluation curve in 1969 was similar to the sarcasm curve and a mirror image of the satisfaction and involvement curves shown in Chapter Five. In 1971 the evaluation curve was virtually flat and evaluated the practice negatively for all classes. The two classes after the freshmen no longer increased the value placed on harrassing the lowest ranking students in the school.

Insert Figure 12-1 about here.

A second set of significant events which received attention from the change agents was the behavior of student leaders. From the outset of our contact with the school--during the workshop with the outgoing senior class in the spring of 1969--we learned that students who held positions of major responsibility felt a great deal of pressure in their roles. Faculty members often pressed them to behave as authority figures, and they themselves admitted that they sometimes used their offices to favor their friends and hurt their enemies. During the spring laboratories one athletic team

Table 12-2

Comparison of Frequency of Lower Class Harrassment by Upper Class
between November 1969 and November 1971

	November 1969	November 1971	Direction of change	t	p
<u>All students</u>					
freshman into pond*	3.21	2.89	less	3.40	.001
freshman stays in room**	1.61	1.46	less	2.08	.05
<u>Boarding students</u>					
freshman into pond	3.22	2.94	less	2.86	.01
freshman stays in room	1.62	1.46	less	1.99	.05
<u>Day students</u>					
freshman into pond	2.67	2.70		.08	n.s.
freshman stays in room	1.64	1.44		.75	n.s.
<u>Freshmen</u>					
freshman into pond	3.24	3.13		.49	n.s.
freshman stays in room	1.63	1.37	less	2.05	.05
<u>Sophomores</u>					
freshman into pond	3.55	2.87	less	4.00	.001
freshman stays in room	1.81	1.60		1.30	n.s.
<u>Juniors</u>					
freshman into pond	3.17	2.83	less	2.12	.05
freshman stays in room	1.59	1.41		1.32	n.s.
<u>Seniors</u>					
freshman into pond	2.89	2.76		.34	n.s.
freshman stays in room	1.35	1.42		.54	n.s.

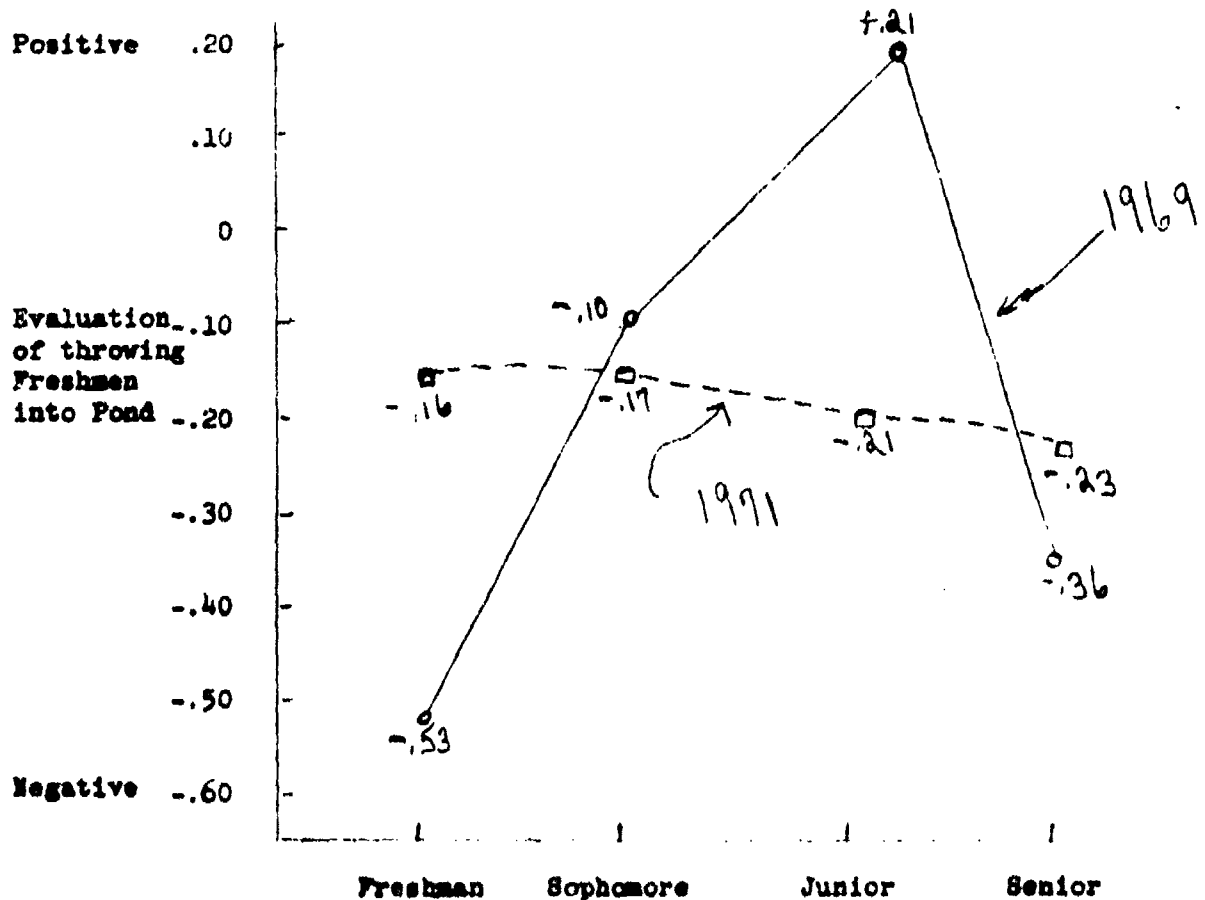
* A freshman is thrown into the pond by several upper classmen.

** A freshman spends an entire day in his room with the door locked in order to avoid being harrassed by upper classmen.

Figure 12-1

EVALUATION OF THROWING FRESHMEN INTO POND AS A FUNCTION OF
SCHOOL YEAR (1969 or 1971) AND CLASS IN SCHOOL

(Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, Senior)



Two-Way Analysis of Variance[†]

	SS	df	MS	F	p
A. School Year	.001	1	.001	small	n.s.
B. Class	7.84	3	2.62	3.11	.03
C. Interaction of School Year and Class	8.78	3	2.92	3.48	.02

[†] Harmonic means analysis $\bar{n} = 52.99$

captain resigned after exploring his feelings about how he had handled his role.

Interventions by the internal change agents were heavily focused on the elected officers of the various classes. As described in Chapter Seven and Eleven, special attention was given by internal and external consultants to the prefects, who had responsibility for dealing with violators of school rules. Gaining entry to work with the prefects was difficult because they saw the consultants as an arm of the administration dedicated to putting more pressure on them to report rule breakers. We hoped to help the prefects clarify the choices forced upon them by their roles and to explore the consequences of those choices.

The data on student leader behavior shown in Table 12-3 supports the hypothesis that change occurred between November 1969 and November 1971. Prefects in 1971 were less likely to be perceived as partial than were prefects in November 1969. This change was accompanied by another: prefects were less likely to report rule violators in 1971 than in 1969. While there is no causal mechanism stated in these items, it is reasonable to infer one. The students had less reason to charge student leaders with partiality if the prefects were reporting fewer people. The students resolved their role conflict between students and administration by moving closer to the students.

Such a change might not be a positive outcome for a number of reasons. Faculty members were counting on the students to exercise substantial authority around rule breaking. If the students did not do it and the faculty could not (because of lack of information) or would not (because they too did not like to risk alienating themselves from the students), there was danger that social control would disintegrate. A second reason for concern was the implied increase in polarization between students and

faculty. This trend was exacerbated by interventions undertaken with students alone on problems in which students and faculty had a joint stake. Initially, the faculty was unwilling to join intervention activities, and the consultants decided to work with students who were willing to participate. But over time more faculty members were willing to participate in efforts to improve corridor life. Eventually prefects and faculty members jointly defined their roles in administration of discipline in the dormitories and in setting penalties. Intervention activities pertaining to corridor life continued for several years beyond the fall of 1971, as described in Chapter Ten.

 Insert Table 12-3 about here.

The list of "significant events" measured in November 1969 and November 1971 included behaviors which were not targets of interventions. Changes in these behaviors over time are interesting for two reasons. First, were there any signs of significant carryover effects? Did interventions directed at one sector of the school life influence things in other areas in understandable ways? Second, were there signs that our measures became contaminated in ways that cast doubt on the results that have already been discussed? Was there any indication of an overall positive response bias?

Table 12-4 reports analyses of three different supportive behaviors between students, none of which changed significantly for the school as a whole. Seniors, however, perceived that upper classmen significantly more frequently sought out and offered help to freshmen in 1971 than in 1969. The freshman reaction to this event neither contradicted nor strongly supported the seniors' perceptions. Neither of the other two behaviors changed significantly from 1969 to 1971.

 Insert Table 12-4 about here.

Table 12-3

Comparison of Frequency of Student Leader Behaviors between
November 1969 and November 1971

	November 1969	November 1971	Direction of Change	t	p
<u>All students</u>					
leaders show partiality*	2.81	2.60	less	2.05	.05
leaders report rule violators**	3.18	2.95	less	2.22	.05
<u>Boarding students</u>					
leaders show partiality	2.77	2.62		1.30	n.s.
leaders report rule violators	3.18	2.93	less	2.27	.05
<u>Day students</u>					
leaders show partiality	3.18	2.52	less	2.07	.05
leaders report rule violators	3.27	3.06		.54	n.s.
<u>Freshmen</u>					
leaders show partiality	2.24	2.13		.51	n.s.
leaders report rule violators	2.83	3.00		.53	n.s.
<u>Sophomores</u>					
leaders show partiality	2.75	2.87		.64	n.s.
leaders report rule violators	3.30	3.26		.21	n.s.
<u>Juniors</u>					
leaders show partiality	3.10	2.54	less	2.92	.01
leaders report rule violators	3.31	2.75	less	3.01	.01
<u>Seniors</u>					
leaders show partiality	3.12	2.84		1.44	n.s.
leaders report rule violators	3.22	2.77	less	2.42	.05

* A student leader (such as a prefect or team captain) shows partiality in carrying out his duties or in some other way violates the spirit of the job he holds.

** A student who is known to have broken a major rule is reported by a prefect.

Table 12-4

Comparison of Student Supportive Behaviors between November 1969 and November 1971

	November 1969	November 1971	Direction of Change	t	p
<u>All students</u>					
Upper classman helps freshman*	2.61	2.73	-	1.36	n.s.
Loner helped to find friends**	2.24	2.27		.36	n.s.
Student congratulated by peers***	3.76	3.61		.53	n.s.
<u>Boarding students</u>					
Upper classman helps freshman	2.59	2.75		1.73	n.s.
Loner helped to find friends	2.24	2.29		.51	n.s.
Student congratulated by peers	3.73	3.87		1.33	n.s.
<u>Day students</u>					
Upper classman helps freshman	2.58	2.61		.21	n.s.
Loner helped to find friends	2.27	2.20		.23	n.s.
Student congratulated by peers	3.64	3.55		.25	n.s.
<u>Freshmen</u>					
Upper classman helps freshman	2.53	2.66		.30	n.s.
Loner helped to find friends	2.11	2.33		1.20	n.s.
Student congratulated by peers	3.68	3.68		.00	n.s.
<u>Sophomores</u>					
Upper classman helps freshman	2.56	2.68		.73	n.s.
Loner helped to find friends	2.48	2.30		1.01	n.s.
Student congratulated by peers	3.73	3.65		.41	n.s.
<u>Juniors</u>					
Upper classman helps freshman	2.68	2.55		.79	n.s.
Loner helped to find friends	2.15	2.24		.52	n.s.
Student congratulated by friends	3.95	3.91		.26	n.s.
<u>Seniors</u>					
Upper classman helps freshman	2.66	3.05	more	2.19	.05
Loner helped to find friends	2.19	2.23		.25	n.s.
Student congratulated by friends	3.67	4.00		1.69	n.s.

* An upper classman seeks out and offers help to freshman.

** A student who is known to be isolated or lacking in connections with other people. . . is invited or in some other way helped to find people with whom he can relate.

*** A student who has excelled in some activity (academic, athletic, or extracurricular) is congratulated by his peers in his presence.

Except for the administrative consultation and the meetings regarding data feedback, there was little contact with faculty members between November 1969 and November 1971. There was no project effort to deal with the faculty behaviors listed in Table 12-5. But comparison of the November 1969 with the November 1971 results indicates that students thought faculty members were behaving differently in a number of ways. The faculty were perceived as less likely to fix student elections and more likely to use physical force to discipline students. The changes in election behavior were noted especially by sophomores and juniors, while perceived use of physical force was significantly increased only in the eyes of seniors. There was no change in the likelihood that students would expect faculty members to lie publicly.

 Insert Table 12-5 about here.

The change project also paid little attention to academic activity, for the study focus was the human system outside the classroom. But we did identify some classroom and academic behaviors in the interviews, and these behaviors were rated for frequency in both 1969 and 1971. Table 12-6 shows that there were no overall changes either in classroom student put-downs or in student academic help between November 1969 and November 1971. The freshman and sophomore classes, however, showed a decrease in helping behavior.

 Insert Table 12-6 about here.

Taken together, the data on significant events suggest that the interventions produced changes in behaviors toward which they were directed but did not carryover into other sectors of school life. The fact that several untreated behaviors did not change or changed in both directions supports

Table 12-5

Comparison of Frequency of Faculty Behaviors between November 1969 and November 1971

	November 1969	November 1971	Direction of Change	t	p
<u>All students</u>					
election rigged by faculty*	1.71	1.35	less	4.41	.001
faculty uses physical force**	1.39	1.60	more	2.76	.01
faculty lies***	2.15	2.00		1.63	n.s.
<u>Boarding students</u>					
election rigged by faculty	1.70	1.38	less	3.45	.001
faculty uses physical force	1.40	1.61	more	2.53	.05
faculty lies	2.17	2.00		1.73	n.s.
<u>Day students</u>					
election rigged by faculty	1.75	1.22	less	2.39	.05
faculty uses physical force	1.67	1.57		.36	n.s.
faculty lies	1.67	2.00		.89	n.s.
<u>Freshmen</u>					
election rigged by faculty	1.08	1.13		.62	n.s.
faculty uses physical force	1.33	1.36		.23	n.s.
faculty lies	1.65	1.70		.37	n.s.
<u>Sophomores</u>					
election rigged by faculty	1.85	1.26	less	3.72	.001
faculty uses physical force	1.52	1.70		1.13	n.s.
faculty lies	2.18	1.98		1.06	n.s.
<u>Juniors</u>					
election rigged by faculty	2.12	1.25	less	4.97	.001
faculty uses physical force	1.37	1.53		1.75	n.s.
faculty lies	2.23	1.95		1.68	n.s.
<u>Seniors</u>					
election rigged by faculty	1.70	1.76		.33	n.s.
faculty uses physical force	1.32	1.67	more	2.40	.05
faculty lies	2.48	2.36		.65	n.s.

* An election for some student office is rigged by the faculty.

** A faculty uses physical force to discipline a student.

*** At a talk in Vespers a faculty member says something which you know (or later learn) to be less than the full truth.

Table 12-6

Comparison of Student Academic Behavior between November 1969 and November 1971

	November 1969	November 1971	Direction of Change	t	p
<u>All students</u>					
Questioner called stupid*	1.98	1.83		1.55	n.s.
Student helped**	3.67	3.51		1.83	n.s.
<u>Boarding students</u>					
Questioner called stupid	2.01	1.80		1.91	n.s.
Student helped	3.65	3.56		.92	n.s.
<u>Day students</u>					
Questioner called stupid	2.00	1.97		.11	n.s.
Student helped	3.91	3.31		1.76	n.s.
<u>Freshmen</u>					
Questioner called stupid	1.92	1.82		.53	n.s.
Student helped	3.63	3.19	less	2.40	.05
<u>Sophomores</u>					
Questioner called stupid	2.16	1.81		1.79	n.s.
Student helped	4.04	3.42	less	3.86	.001
<u>Juniors</u>					
Questioner called stupid	1.95	1.83		.68	n.s.
Student helped	3.42	3.61		1.13	n.s.
<u>Seniors</u>					
Questioner called stupid	1.86	1.88		.07	n.s.
Student helped	3.54	3.82		1.67	n.s.

* In a class a student asks the teacher a question, to which the teacher responds by asking the student why he asked. Before the student can answer the teacher, another student says, "Because he was stupid!"

** A student who is having trouble with his school work is helped by another student (without the helper doing the learning work for him)

the validity of our measures. Behavioral science-based interventions were not the only efforts to change the school, and so it is not surprising to find that behavior not tied to planned interventions also changed. At the same time the fact that some behavior did not change suggests that the measures were able to distinguish one event from another. The fact that some changes were more desirable than others argues against the operation of a general positive halo effect in our measures.

C. Sarcasm

Sarcasm as a phenomenon of organizational life at Gaight caught our attention early. It was very noticeable during the senior workshops in the spring of 1969. Interviews in the fall of 1969 again directed our attention to its pervasive influence on the quality of social interaction at the school. Sarcasm was the only subject covered by both long questionnaires administered to the school in November 1969, where it was measured both for its own sake and as an indicator of successful design of an "empathic questionnaire" (see Chapter Three).

Sarcasm was extensively discussed during the feedback sessions in the spring of 1970. The diagnostic report presented to the faculty in the fall of 1970 contained a section devoted to sarcasm, and an appendix recorded all the comments written about the phenomenon on the long questionnaires. Interventions focused on sarcasm occurred in the feedback meetings with students in the spring of 1970. The subject was also addressed in September 1970 faculty meetings. The freshmen and sophomores who participated in the feedback meetings were third and fourth year students when sarcasm perceptions were again measured in November 1971.

Table 12-7 shows that virtually all groups reported significantly less sarcasm in the school in November 1971 than in November 1969. Most groups

also thought that there was less sarcasm than there had been in the preceding year. Not only was less sarcasm reported, but the direction of change in this phenomenon was also perceived as supporting the overall decrease.

 Insert Table 12-7 about here.

Because so much attention was given to this phenomenon and because credit for "worrying about it" was associated with the Yale Study, one must ask whether the changes in perceptions of sarcastic behavior might not have occurred as a function of some kind of "demand" characteristic in the study: perhaps people gave responses that they knew were consistent with the researcher-consultants' goals. But the November 1971 questionnaires were administered by the Faculty Assessment Committee, whose initial stance was not directed to pleasing the investigators. Moreover, while third and fourth year students might have answered as they did in 1971 to satisfy the researchers, the first and second year students had had no contact with interventions devoted to sarcasm, yet they still changed compared to preceding years. Their answers are less likely to be biased to fit the researcher-consultants' hopes.

The data in Figure 12-2 show that there was also a change in the relationship between perceptions of sarcasm and a student's year at school. The perceived amount of sarcasm was higher in the third year in 1969, while in 1971 the high point came in the second year. Sarcasm level seemed to be less a function of time in the school in 1971 as well as being generally lower. The effect would be expected if sarcasm were a function of the closedness of the system, and the system moved toward greater openness.

 Insert Figure 12-2 about here.

Table 12-7

Comparison of Sarcasm in November 1969 and November 1971

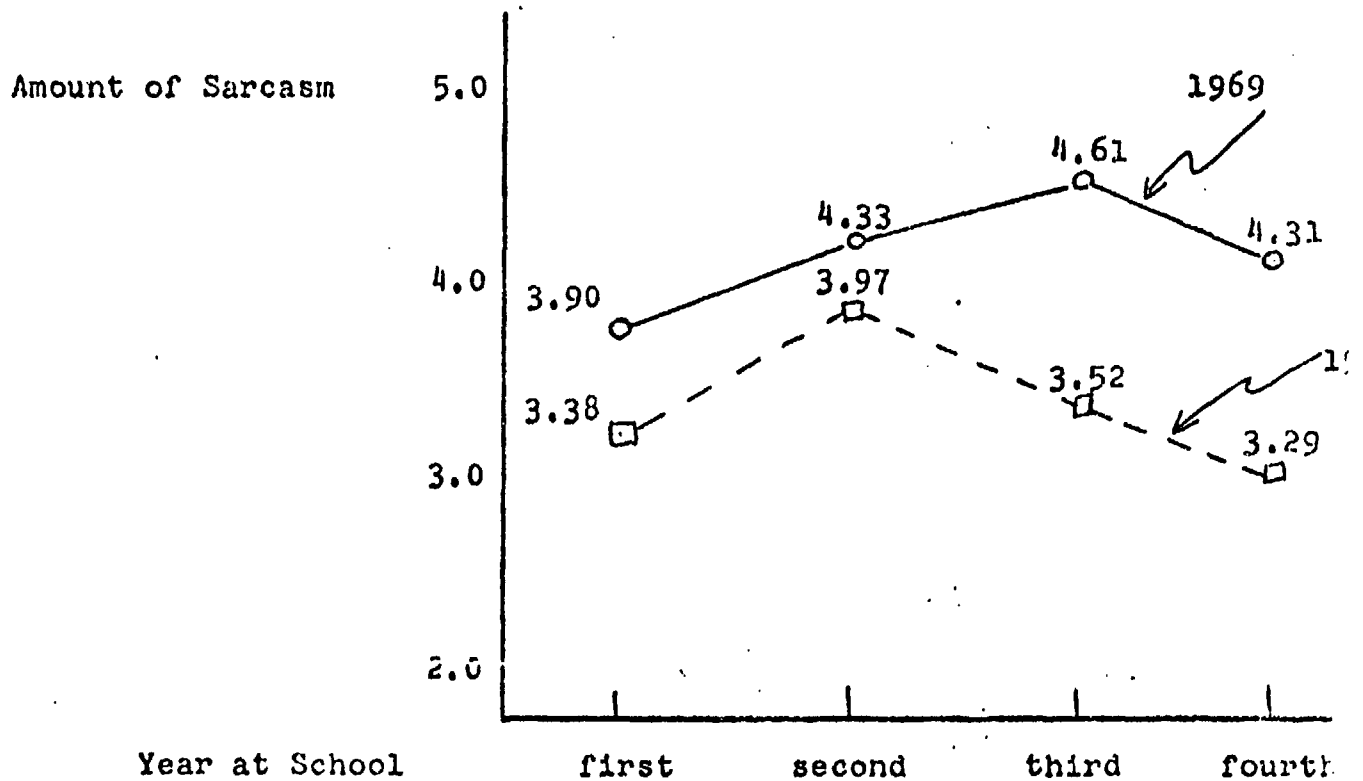
	<u>November 1969</u>	<u>November 1971</u>	<u>Direction of Change</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
<u>All students</u>					
Amount of sarcasm*	4.23	3.57	less	8.46	.001
Previous sarcasm**	2.98	2.54	less	5.20	.001
<u>Boarding students</u>					
Amount of sarcasm	4.23	3.57	less	7.76	.001
Previous sarcasm	2.95	2.49	less	4.92	.001
<u>Day students</u>					
Amount of sarcasm	4.18	3.55	less	2.70	.01
Previous sarcasm	3.26	2.69	less	2.33	.01
<u>First year students</u>					
Amount of sarcasm	3.90	3.39	less	3.94	.01
Previous sarcasm	3.39	2.87	less	3.18	.01
<u>Second year students</u>					
Amount of sarcasm	4.33	3.98	less	2.62	.05
Previous sarcasm	2.94	2.67		1.83	n.s.
<u>Third year students</u>					
Amount of sarcasm	4.61	3.52	less	7.48	.001
Previous sarcasm	2.93	2.20	less	4.58	.001
<u>Fourth year students</u>					
Amount of sarcasm	4.32	3.29	less	4.61	.001
Previous sarcasm	2.63	1.92	less	3.66	.001

* The amount of sarcasm in the school community is: very high, high, moderate, low, or very low.

** In comparison to previous years, the amount of sarcasm in the school community is: much less, less, the same, more, much more. (If this is your first year, answer on the basis of what you expected to find.)

Figure 12-2

Amount of Sarcasm as a Function of School Year
(1969 or 1971) and Year at School (first, second, third, fourth)



Two Way Analysis of Variance*

	SS	df	MS	F	P
A. School Year	71.4	1	71.40	88.53	.001
B. Year at School	21.26	3	7.09	8.79	.001
C. Interaction of School Year and Year at School	13.14	3	4.38	5.43	.001

* Harmonic means analysis $\bar{n} = 64.44$

D. Some Cautions

The major question to be raised about the quantitative outcomes reported in this chapter concerns the absence of a control group. We did not just observe another boarding school of similar size and composition during the period of intensive action and research at Gaight. Even if such an organization existed--and we knew of none--there were no resources available to utilize it. Where it was possible to use quasi-controls in evaluating interventions, as described in Chapter Eight we did so. But faculty and student resistance to the repeated use of questionnaires prevented the continuing this method beyond the first year of the study.

The major contribution of such rigorous controls is that they allow eliminating explanations for change other than the planned interventions. Alternative possibilities for this system might include:

1. There were fewer outbreaks of violence or public demonstrations in schools in 1971 than there were in 1969.
2. A new curriculum had been installed in the school in the fall of 1971, and it offered shorter courses and more options.
3. A month before the second measure was taken, the headmaster announced his resignation effective the following July. The school was coping with leadership succession problems when the November 1971 survey was taken, and two months were to pass before a successor was named.
4. The fall of 1971 marked the formal beginning of coeducation at Gaight, a change favored by most segments of the community but greeted ambivalently by all.

5. Faculty members were quick to tell us that each class at the school had its own "personality." Passing time resulted in new students and possibly new attitudes and behaviors.

There is no rigorous way to rule out these alternative causes, and our case that the planned interventions mattered more than random variation rests on the direct connection of change targets (less harrassment, less sarcasm) with measurable behavior changes. Of the five alternatives, only the arrival of coeducation rivals the interventions for proximity to the student life. The measures reported in this chapter excluded women from the analysis. We compared the student answers in 1969 when all students were males with male students in 1971. As sexist as this comparison may be, it avoids the problem of comparing two different kinds of populations in assessing change. It is likely that the arrival of women did contribute to increased satisfaction with life in the school, but it seems unlikely that the presence of women in a segregated dorm was a major factor in the other behavior changes. Moreover, the arrival of women also evoked its own set of problems connected with dormitory living.

E. Conclusion to the 1971-72 Evaluation Effort

The major conclusion to be drawn from the data reported in the two preceding chapters is that constructive behavior changes occurred in the school between 1969 and 1971, and that these changes could be tied in direct ways to planned interventions. The changes were not revolutionary; they did not produce a utopian school community; they did not radicalize the existing school structure. But we believe that the quality of human life at the school was improved in important ways by the joint efforts of the school administration, the internal change agents, and the external researcher-consultants. The change processes have not ended, nor have the problems of

the school disappeared. Much work remains to be done, and school personnel continue work for additional improvements. The planned change efforts made possible elimination of some destructive characteristics of school life, but left many areas untouched.

This section began by suggesting that valid evaluation required convergence between client perceptions and the researcher-consultant analysis. Our conclusions are based on examination of evidence produced by the Faculty Assessment Committee and data from readministration of the much maligned questionnaire. What does synthesis of these two approaches tell us?

Both approaches concluded that the thrust of the project was basically positive. Constructive consequences of the work were identified by both analyses, yet both identified problems that needed additional attention. At the most general level, both evaluations were ambivalent but gave greater weight to positive than to negative outcomes.

The faculty committee chose a clinical approach which dealt in greater depth with the areas it chose to address than the questionnaire method. Quantitative data were obtained only from students, while the assessment committee paid primary attention to faculty and administrative personnel. The faculty and behavioral science methods used complementary sources. The questions asked by the faculty focused on different aspects of the project than those posed by the questionnaire. The Faculty Assessment Committee was more interested in the processes employed in the study than in the outcomes, while the questionnaire was utilized to measure outcomes rather than processes. The faculty members were especially concerned about the confidential consultation and about use of power in the system; the behavioral science questions focused on change in well-defined attitudes and behavior during the consultation. The two evaluations were complementary in subject matter as well as in audience.

The faculty and behavioral science evaluations were intended to check and balance each other. There were also internal checks in both approaches, but neither by itself was flawless. The faculty group was composed of volunteers willing to do the work required, and the recruiting process was publicly known. The external consultant's own knowledge of the members indicated that the committee contained people who had expressed both positive and negative views of the project. It was apparent that the committee began with a more negative than positive slant, and the data they gathered moved them in a positive direction. These factors represent reasons to trust the credibility of the committee's decision, but there are also reasons to question the committee's procedures. They did not complete the task they defined for themselves in the time allotted and so reached a decision on the basis of less data than they would have liked. They did eventually collect information from student leaders and faculty members, but this data came from less than a third of those contacted. These data were collected after the decision and may have been influenced by the fact that the committee's decision had been announced. There were reasons to believe that the headmaster played a large role in the committee's deliberations. It was difficult to tell how much the committee was swayed by his role as the authority figure who was telling them that the project should go on.

The strengths and weaknesses of questionnaire methods are different from the strengths and weaknesses of the committee. Three types of measures were used to find change: they were administered one or two years after the original diagnostic investigation, and the basic criterion for change was whether statistically significant movement had occurred on relevant scales. Each type of measure had a different content and format. It is unlikely that the changes detected could have been the product of response bias. Each of the three types of measures showed evidence of change in constructive

directions. Some attitudes and behaviors changed, but not all. The fact that involvement did not change from November 1969 to November 1971 may help to explain the assessment committee's difficulties in recharging itself to take on another task after its initial mission had been completed. There is encouraging congruence between the increase in overall satisfaction and the decrease of several destructive behavior patterns among students. Further support for real change is found in the measures which did and did not change and the various groups which contributed most to the observed changes. It was possible to tie explicit interventions to specific behavior changes in identifiable groups.

There is an important way in which the outcomes reported in these two chapters may be less significant than the processes used to reach them. One of our primary goals in writing this book was to find new ways in which significant social action can be combined with meaningful research. If the Faculty Assessment Committee had not been created, it seems unlikely that we would know as much as we do about the outcomes of this project after two years of activity. The establishment of the committee represented a significant risk for all the parties involved. The external consultants risked losing a valued research and consulting opportunity and the clients risked a relationship that was providing a valued service to some members of the community. Members of the assessment committee voluntarily gave their time and then offered a conclusion that contradicted overt expression by many of their most vocal colleagues. But in retrospect the risk seems to have been worth running. The committee did a lot to make the project better understood among the faculty. They sponsored the re-administration of the questionnaire which produced quantitative measures of change. Basically the Faculty Assessment Committee seemed to be responding to the consequence of releasing interventions focused on administrative

matters in the school, while the questionnaire measures were oriented toward outcomes of developmental interventions. When constructive outcomes were associated with each approach, the joint value of the two approaches to intervention was reinforced. It is unlikely that certain intervention activities devoted to the relationship between the corridor faculty and the prefects would have continued if the faculty group had not recommended continuation (see Chapter Ten). The learning generated by the two evaluation attempts was different, and each contributed both to the action life of the project and to basic knowledge about change processes in organizations.

IV. CONCEPTUAL SUMMARY

The evaluation process described in this chapter grew directly out of the propositions presented in Chapter Seven. We proceeded to construct an evaluation procedure devoted both to "learning from consulting" and to maintaining the project. Had we been concerned with learning or only with keeping a relationship with key members of the Gaight School (headmaster and internal change agents), we would have proceeded differently.

By working to create a Faculty Assessment Committee we hoped to provide additional information and understanding to ourselves and to the school (Proposition 1). The committee represented a new (temporary) structure, and its method of evaluation departed from what had been advocated by both critics and supporters of the project. Though commissioned by the headmaster, the committee had autonomy in how to reach their decision. Because they were all Gaight faculty members, their interaction with the external consultant, the internal consultants, and the headmaster increased the permeability of the boundaries of those systems. With the external

consultant and the headmaster there was evidence that this interaction also increased in mutuality over time (Proposition 2). With the internal consultants there was less evidence of an increase in mutuality. The committee was created in response to feelings expressed by Oaight faculty members and experienced by the internal consultants, headmaster, and external consultants. It was clear that the history (explanation) of the project produced by the committee reflected the emotions and ideas of all parties they contacted, and generated new data and understanding in the process (Proposition 3).

Membership in the assessment committee was a matter of choice for the participants, and the group's composition included people from most relevant segments of the faculty (i.e., more and less influential people, with more and less direct experience with the project, whose initial opinions were both positive and negative). The Faculty Assessment Committee was created as an exceptional event in the life of the school and was unsuccessful in transforming its mission to a more routine activity (Proposition 4).

Although the committee did not spend much effort examining the research based developmental interventions, it did readminister a shortened questionnaire, which permitted the external team to gain access to this kind of data. In their own questionnaire, moreover, the committee performed a rudimentary rediagnosis which pointed to certain long term problems (corridor life and coeducation) which had been the subject of developmental and releasing interventions. The joint evaluation efforts of the external researcher-consultants and the faculty committee addressed the effects of both releasing and developmental interventions (Proposition 5). This chapter has attempted to identify the separate contributions of these two approaches and their combination.

Evaluation was not an event that happened only during the period

described in this chapter. It had occurred after the initial spring workshops, after the diagnosis was fed back, and after each specific intervention. These specific and shorter term evaluations contributed to "learning from consultation" just as the more detailed and systematic study reported in the chapter (Proposition 6).

Chapter Thirteen

CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The objectives of this chapter are to summarize the contributions and limitations of this study and to distill from that summary some more general ideas about the planned change, research, and consultation. We have three audiences in mind: practitioners of organizational development, researchers of organizational change, and the Gaight School. Section I reviews two streams of "developmental interventions" the activities connected with the system diagnosis and subsequent feedback sessions, and the long term effort to understand and alter the experience of Gaight prefects and dormitory faculty. Section II examines the functions of "releasing interventions: generating data, supporting school leadership, and maintaining an effective working alliance with the school. Section III identifies some unsolved and untouched problems, explains the decision to terminate the consultation, and describes some conditions necessary for research-oriented organizational development. Section IV addresses some intellectual dilemmas arising from this study. Finally, Section V presents some existential commitments that define the research consultation stance we have called "Learning from Changing".

I. TWO STREAMS OF DEVELOPMENTAL INTERVENTION

In retrospect, there were two fundamental streams of developmental interventions undertaken at Gaight: (1) interventions directed at the quality of social interaction at the school, and (2) interventions directed at the processes of social control in the school. This section will discuss those two streams separately and then comment on their confluence in later

periods of the project.

A. Understanding and Changing the Quality of Social Interaction

The quality of interpersonal relations and life in the dormitories, particularly among students, emerged as an important issue from the diagnosis. Several interventions were directed at the quality of social interaction, notably the feedback meetings in the spring of 1970 and the internal change agents work with the sophomores about freshman hazing in the fall of 1971.

These interventions involved recognition of social interaction problems from diagnostic work, joint planning of interventions by internal and external consultants, data generation and feedback to the relevant client groups, discussion to develop a shared diagnosis with clear behavioral implications for action, and then relevant behavior changes on the choice of participating individuals and groups. The consultants facilitated data generation and the development of a shared diagnosis rather than pressing for structural changes, skill training, or individual change.

Evaluation of the impact of the project by behavioral science research suggested that these interventions did indeed effect the quality of interpersonal life in the school. As noted in Chapter 12, the level of sarcasm was substantially reduced a year and a half after the feedback meetings at which it was discussed and the reported incidence of hazing freshmen was also significantly reduced a year after the sophomore meetings. Insofar as sarcasm and freshmen hazing were symptoms of the interpersonal relations problems among students, the interventions focused on them seem to have been effective in improving the situation.

Interestingly enough, the Faculty Assessment Committee (see Chapter Twelve) did not deal at any length with the changes in the quality of

interpersonal life at the school during the project, but instead concentrated on interventions associated with the management of power and social control. This oversight may reflect faculty resistance to perceiving the interpersonal problems like sarcasm and hazing. If the problems were just a function of consultant imaginations, interventions could hardly be expected to have important impacts. Faculty reactions to those interventions may also explain why they were not repeated in spite of their apparent efficacy. Such developmental interventions require facing up to difficult problems within the school, and most of the pain engendered by interpersonal relations problems was suffered by the students. It might be expected that the faculty would avoid interventions that would require them to face unpleasantness without absolving them of pain.

Ultimately, the interventions focused on social interaction at the school brought external and internal consultants together with members of the school to articulate dilemmas for school inhabitants, primarily students. Resolution of those dilemmas turned on individual decisions to try new behavior, and the data suggests that many students did indeed decide to change in significant ways.

B. Understanding the Changing the Processes of Social Control

The processes of social control within the school appeared as a problem in the senior workshops in the Spring of 1969, and resurfaced as an issue regularly in subsequent years. The importance of somehow coping with the dynamics of the prefect role was consistently raised by our diagnostic work and by faculty and administration requests.

Our work on the issues of social control involved several different cycles that are described in detail in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eleven. We began systematic investigation in the fall of 1969 by including the

prefects in diagnostic interviews, and focused more directly on them the following spring when it appeared that they were having serious problems. The result of that investigation was a recommendation for a prefect workshop in the diagnostic report, a recommendation enthusiastically approved by the faculty and summarily rejected by the prefects themselves in the fall of 1970. Interviews of those prefects in the spring of 1971 led to reconceptualization of the issues involved and a proposal for a joint prefect-corridor master workshop the following fall. The qualified success of that intervention led to further data collection during 1971-1972 and the development of a modified prefect-corridor master training and follow-up program for 1972-1973 which eventually resulted in a redesign of the disciplinary structure itself. During this sequence of data collection - intervention cycles, the conceptualization of the "prefect problem" moved from explanations at the levels of individual prefects and prefect group dynamics to the level of complex intergroup relations among the prefects, the corridor masters, the faculty, the administration, and external agencies of social control.

The interventions with the prefects were based primarily on qualitative data collected in interviews with prefects, corridor masters, and administrators rather than the quantitative data collected from the school as a whole. Impetus for intervention was provided by faculty and administrators, who were actively concerned about the disintegration of the school's major social control mechanism: with this initiating press went a good deal of ownership and control over the outcomes of interventions with prefects. Although early interventions were jointly planned and implemented by internal and external consultants, later work was largely in the hands of the internal consultants. The interventions were typically focused on specific skill development and structural changes

that would lead to more effective and humane social control processes, and the outcomes of the interventions had significance both for the internal dynamics of the school and for its relations with outside agencies concerned with social control of the larger society (e.g., police).

These interventions did have important effects on the school. At the level of substantive changes, a new disciplinary structure was proposed for the school. There is evidence that student perceptions of prefects changed, though the results are mixed: prefects were perceived to be less partial or corrupt but they were also seen as less likely to report violations. Although the quantitative evidence for the efficacy of the prefect intervention is less impressive than that for the impact of the social interaction stream, the Faculty Assessment Committee described the utility of the social control stream of developmental interventions with considerable enthusiasm. They viewed the report on the prefects as more "indicting" and more "directive" than the diagnostic report that discussed social interaction problems, even though the former contained neither the quantitative analysis nor the explicit recommendations of the latter. It is clear that the disintegration of social control processes occasioned much more pain for the faculty than difficulties in social interaction, however, and the relative emphases may be rooted in the extent to which the issues were sensitive for the Committee.

The social control stream of interventions provides an interesting contrast to the social interaction stream. Though both sets of developmental interventions were data-based in the sense of emerging from careful attempts to understand the human system and its problems, the social interaction sequence grew out of quantitative analysis of data collected from the entire school while the social control sequence was based on qualitative

data from a much more limited group (although ultimately much of the rest of the school proved relevant to the issues). The impetus for the social interaction sequence came largely from the consultants, particularly the external consultants, who felt obligated to feed their diagnosis back to the system, while the impetus for the social control sequence flowed from the internal consultants, the faculty, and the administration. Although both sequences of interventions tended to become increasingly "owned" and implemented by the internal staff, that development was particularly evident with the prefect interventions (about which it was difficult toward the end for the external consultant even to get information). The intervention mode for the social interaction stream involved presenting information, facilitating discussion and understanding and then leaving participants to make their own decisions; the mode for the social control stream was more directive in that interventions were designed to provide specific training in critical skills and to facilitate the development of alternative organizational structures for task accomplishment (e.g., disciplinary decisions). Finally, the focus for the social interaction interventions was exclusively internal to the school while the social control interventions of necessity dealt with both internal issues and the school's relation to external agencies.

C. The Confluence of Two Streams of Intervention

We believe that the two streams of intervention interacted in important ways to further change. For example, one class of students was heavily involved with the project from the start, and they ultimately had important impacts on the school. The group most energized by the feedback meetings in the spring of 1970 was the freshmen (see Chapter Eight). Those same students as sophomores were pivotal the following fall when they

decided, in response to meetings with the internal change agents, to eschew throwing freshmen in the pond (Chapter Ten). Two years later the prefects of that class engaged in continuing work with the corridor masters and proposed the radical restructuring of the disciplinary system. That group of students was able to work constructively with the internal and external consultants over the course of their school careers in connection with issues of both social interaction and social control. The cumulative impact of that work was felt by the school as a whole (Chapter Twelve).

Although we were less successful at working with the faculty, the two streams of intervention flowed together in dealing with them as well. For some faculty, no problems of social interaction existed, and the fuss about it was uncomprehensible. For others, any positive change in student interpersonal relations was welcomed. The issue of power management and social control was sensitive for most faculty, and they attacked us both for doing too much (Chapter Nine) and for doing too little (Chapter Nine and Chapter Twelve). The combination of social interaction and social control affected all faculty to some degree, and the cumulative effects of interventions in both areas helped to convince the Assessment Committee that work should continue.

Though the two streams of intervention are conceptually and pragmatically separable, we believe that they reinforced one another to create cumulative effects that made future planned change more likely. As the quality of interpersonal life and communications improved, the chances for success in dealing with difficult issues of social control increased, as some of the dilemmas of decision-making and social control were resolved, the opportunities for better interpersonal relations among students, faculty, and consultants improved. Changes in interpersonal processes made possible alterations of roles and structures which in turn allowed further

changes in interpersonal processes.

This confluence of intervention streams may be related to several general developments that were not obvious products of one. The improvements in student satisfaction with life at Gaight (Chapter Twelve) is probably related to both streams of intervention and to other events like the advent of coeducation. The realistic proposal to restructure the disciplinary system rested on both improved social relationships and more thought about means of social control. The creation of an effective Faculty Assessment Committee is also linked to the change in both management of power and the quality of interpersonal relationships in the school.

II. THE MULTIPLE FUNCTIONS OF RELEASING INTERVENTIONS

Releasing interventions in this study served at least three functions: (1) providing data that increased our understanding of the system, (2) providing a mechanism by which system members could discuss and come to understand the pressures they felt, and (3) offering opportunities to discuss and improve the relationship between the external consultants and the school. Without the operation of releasing interventions, it is doubtful that the streams of developmental interventions discussed above could have been implemented, for they relied on the inside information, the maintenance of critical people and the preservation of the project offered by releasing interventions.

The function of releasing interventions in providing critical data is most obvious in the administrative consultation, the prefect interviews and the coed dormitory supervisor interviews. Consultant willingness to listen empathically and to keep information confidential made it possible for system members to share information not available to most other

observers. That information was frequently valuable for understanding events, though its possession also sometimes created situations in which the consultants felt ineffective or uncomfortable (as when one researcher-consultant found himself acting as a go-between the headmaster and the prefects).

The opportunity to talk about issues that were ordinarily suppressed was often a relief to the individuals involved, and sometimes they came to new understandings of the situation and the choices confronting them. When the headmaster and the internal consultants talked about their dilemmas to the external consultants in the administrative consultation, conversation alone sometimes led to constructive ideas for managing dilemmas or to venting suppressed tensions. The opportunity to discuss the project with outsiders could lead to new insights and understanding because their position allowed a perspective that could not be achieved by insiders. Once system members began to trust the external consultants to preserve confidentiality and to use information helpfully, it became possible for system members to speak very frankly of their problems.

Finally, releasing interventions played a critical role in preserving the working relationship between the external consultants and the school by creating opportunities to talk about issues that threatened it. The headmaster and the internal consultants raised issues about the outsider-school relationship during administrative consultations, and frequently worked them through in that context. At several critical junctures releasing interventions made it possible to sharpen the issues involving faculty antagonism to the project so that agreements could be negotiated. For example, consultant encouragement of criticism at the beginning of the 1970 fall faculty meetings allowed expression of negative feelings that might

have undermined subsequent work. A similar pattern of encouragement and criticism recurred at the beginning of the external consultant's meeting with the Faculty Assessment Committee; working through those feelings was probably critical to the continuation of the project. The creation of the Faculty Assessment Committee itself was at least indirectly a consequence of an external consultant request at the end of the Coed Day meetings for feedback about the day and the project as a whole. Failure to deal with these negative reactions would have ultimately made further work together exceedingly difficult, and releasing interventions made it possible to find out what aspects of the consultant-client relationship needed attention.

In short, releasing interventions provided opportunities for people to express ideas and feelings about the school, the project, and the consultants without fear of punishment. In our view, these opportunities served multiple and critical functions of information exchange, personal and relationship maintenance, and personal support and development without which the developmental interventions could not have occurred.

III. ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT TERMINABLE AND INTERMINABLE

A. Unsolved Problems

After four years of diagnostic and change activity at the Gaight School we emerged with a sense of having made a dent in the human problems of the school. But no utopian organization emerged as a result of the change efforts. A number of problems that we identified remained largely unsolved in any clear and permanent sense. Many of the issues addressed were not susceptible to elegant and durable solution. The human problems of social systems tend to recur, and their "solution" requires the

development of coping methods for dealing with continuing issues rather than once and for all resolutions.

1. The Oppressive Effect of Passing Time. There were reports of actions during 1972-73 by prefects and internal change agents to revitalize the winter term experience. In spite of these efforts the tensions of the year culminated in an unusually difficult spring term in which implementation of the new disciplinary system developed by the prefects and faculty was blocked by disciplinary problems. The oppressive effect of the passage of time at Gaight remained largely unaffected after three years of intervention activity.

It remains unclear why the data collection feedback process, which altered the trend toward declining student involvement in the spring of 1970 (Chapter Nine), was not repeated in subsequent years. This methodology was brought into the school by the external researcher-consultants and was closely connected with the questionnaire which so many in the community found objectionable. These negative associations may explain why neither internal nor external consultants ever raised the possibility of making the feedback design a routinized feature of managing the effects of time in the school. But both parties knew that the process had reduced --perhaps dramatically--the likelihood of violence at Gaight in the spring of 1970.

2. Relationships between Male and Female Students. No one at Gaight thought the transition to coeducation would be easy or simple, though most thought the change desirable. Relationships between students of different sexes was an issue that created considerable tension and conflict within the faculty before coeducation began as well as afterwards. The headmaster took the initiative to prohibit interdormitory visiting during the first year and to appoint staff for the girls' dormitory. But advance

preparations could hardly foresee all the possibilities.

Eventually, the external researcher-consultant was asked to interview the girls' dormitory faculty to help diagnose the problems that had arisen. Feedback of this data to the internal consultants resulted in a decision against direct confrontation of the dormitory problems as too potentially dangerous to pursue during the first year of coeducation. Instead, he conducted meetings to diffuse tensions and to plan for the following year. As the project ended the headmaster, internal, and external consultants all agreed that women should be added to the consulting staffs.

3. Faculty Competence in Managing Human Problems. Gaight faculty members who took dormitory staff assignments faced an enormously complex task, with endless demands on their time and energy, and little reward for success. It was not surprising that many faculty members left dormitory duty as soon as they accumulated enough seniority.

The enormous demands of this assignment made individuals who could both enjoy and be effective at it rare. It was easy to understand why so many faculty felt ambivalent about the corridor master's job. It was more difficult to sympathize with those who lived outside the dormitories, and yet felt free to criticize those who carried out this difficult assignment. We could empathize with the strains that led to corridor master lapses and occasional intolerance, but it was often painful to observe the consequences of such behavior. The dormitory faculty needed more human support, more training for their assignments, and more self understanding. As the project ended, the headmaster had doubled the amount of time that the school psychiatrist made available for consultation with dormitory faculty.

B. Untouched Problems

Two attributes of the Gaight social system that have an enormous impact on the quality of life at the school received no special study or intervention during the project. These were the academic rat race and the lack of privacy. These issues are rooted in Gaight's raison d'être and in the structure of its physical plant.

1. The Academic Rat Race. The Gaight faculty and administration were justifiably proud of the excellence of their academic program. Gaight students are exposed to a fine curriculum, and have opportunities to participate in a rich and diverse set of extracurricular activities. Because of its academic reputation and its college admissions record, Gaight attracts a very able student body. Gaight administrators felt pressure from some parents to effect their child's entry into the "right" college, regardless of how this goal might influence the student's growth and development. Some students themselves looked on academics at Gaight as primarily a vehicle for college admissions and took part in activities more for their instrumental than for their intrinsic value. These factors converged to promote and reinforce a "rat race" quality in the Gaight academic experience, a "rat race" that is very difficult to examine or question because it is so ingrained in the Gaight system. We doubt that pursuit of learning for instrumental ends in an atmosphere of such extreme competitiveness aids individual development or improves the quality of student life in the school. But we also doubt that much can be done without fundamental change in school goals.

2. The Lack of Privacy. Gaight students and faculty who lived in the school dormitories had little time or space they could call their own. Students usually shared their rooms with one or more roommates, and faculty

apartments were typically located at the ends of corridors. Noise was always a problem. One administrator reported that he had once proposed rebuilding the entire physical plant to allow more privacy and individuality of accommodations. Few would have disagreed with his wish, and most would have asserted its financial impossibility. The impact of space design on the climate of a human system has recently been explored by Steele (1973) and Gaight offers a powerful illustration of how strong this influence can be.

C. Termination of the Relationship with Gaight

By most standards four years is a long time to maintain a research and consulting relationship. We trust that the material presented so far demonstrates the value of such a long term relationship for both client and researcher-consultants. But this relationship was not expected to go on forever; termination was inevitable. This section explores the decision to terminate our work with Gaight from the viewpoint of the researcher-consultants.

The last part of the third year of our consultation was partially devoted to working through the transition of headmasters. At the end of that year the external consultant met with the headmaster and the internal change agents to consider whether the relationship should continue into the following year. The external consultant felt that it was quite important for the new headmaster to feel free to terminate the relationship, but he hoped that such a decision might be reached jointly so that he might learn more about the feelings and thoughts associated with the process. He had increasingly come to conceptualize effective consulting relationships as complementary (Storr, 1961; Hodgson, Levinson, and Zaleznik, 1965; Alderfer, 1973). He had come to see more clearly the basis of his complementarity with the outgoing headmaster in the transition discussions. If a

new complementarity was to develop, it would be on a different basis than the one that had developed with the old headmaster, for the new headmaster was a lot more similar to the external consultant by age, personal style, and administrative capabilities. In response to a question from the consultant, the new headmaster described his strengths and weaknesses in terms which evoked a mental "My God, that's very close to how I would describe myself" from the external consultant. This similarity implied that the external consultant had less that was different to offer the new headmaster. It also meant that the relationship between the new headmaster and external consultant was more prone to competitiveness. But it was not possible to have extended discussion about the relationship. Initiatives by the external consultant--including sharing the above analysis--were not responded to by the new headmaster. Ultimately the new headmaster said that he wanted to continue, and the external consultant accepted this decision because he, too, wished to continue for an additional year. Later the external consultant learned that the old headmaster had strongly supported continuing the relationship.

A theme of the new headmaster's administration was "consolidation". This theme appeared in efforts to build on prior achievements and learning as in the work with the corridor teams and disciplinary processes (Chapter Eleven). The theme also emerged in the commitment of fewer resources to activities. One internal change agent moved into a key administrative post where he was much less available for planned change activities, and the new headmaster decided that the budget did not permit replacing him. Although the other internal change agent increased in influence and visibility within the system, in fact only one person continued to devote a significant portion of his professional life to disciplined work with the human problems of Gaight from within the system. For the first time

consultation sessions were cancelled by the clients. It usually took several weeks to reschedule missed meetings, and ultimately cancellations resulted in less time devoted to external consultation.

The researcher-consultant had asked for the school newspaper and other publications so that he might keep in touch with school activities. Although the request was made several times and granted verbally each time, the publications were not forthcoming on a regular basis. Particularly in the midst of the changes in the disciplinary processes, the consultant felt cut off from important information about the processes when the normal consultation sessions were cancelled. He initiated telephone calls on several occasions to find out what was happening. In summary, the last year of consultation was characterized by fewer resources devoted to the change program, less contact between clients and consultant, and reduced information flow between the parties. The consultant read these developments as indications that Gaight interest in maintaining the project was declining.

During the third year the researcher-consultants were spending much time and energy drafting chapters of this book. As chapter were prepared they were given to both headmasters and internal change agents for comments on accuracy and confidentiality. Writing about Gaight had been a regular part of the research and consulting project: two reports had been prepared for the school in the initial years of the study. Brown had given a copy of his dissertation to the school library, drafts and reprints of research reports (Brown, 1972; Alderfer and Brown, 1972) on the project had also been shared with system members. But the preparation of the book had impacts of a different character. Reviews of the manuscripts were taken seriously by the clients. Sometimes they did not like what we said. There

were a few places where the accuracy of what we said was questioned. Changes were made to protect the confidentiality of individuals (especially within the school) and to reduce the likelihood of the school being identified. Issues of fact were resolved by a joint review of the events. The clients were much more alert to internal issues of confidentiality than the writers, but there was no dispute about making the changes they requested. Despite the good faith and good will that characterized the manuscript preparation, the writing process itself created distances. We felt the need to get conceptual perspectives on events we had been part of for so long. This conceptualization of events may have jolted the clients and so contributed to the reduced contact and information we experienced during the last year of the project.

The final meeting of the consultant and new headmaster took place in late July 1973. They reviewed the events of the year, discussed the kinds of help the headmaster wanted during the next year, and considered continuing the relationship. The external consultant said he was unsure about continuation--in part because of his own needs and in part because of the pattern he had observed during the preceding year. The headmaster noted that the decision to continue should really be made with the internal consultant participating. The external consultant proposed that the headmaster discuss the matter with the internal change agent. If they wanted to explore the issue with the external consultant he promised to be available--although explicitly stating that his coming to such a meeting was not equivalent to his agreeing to continue. No further contact was initiated by the Gaight staff, and the four-year research and consulting relationship thus ended. In a sense termination was a year long process, which occurred quietly in comparison to earlier confrontations between

consultants and faculty. The consultant's feelings included sadness at leaving people he had grown to like and respect, a sense of accomplishment at having been part of human struggles that made a difference, and a sense of freedom to move on to other settings.

D. Conditions for Research-Oriented Organizational Development

This project belongs to a relatively rare class of social science activity, which we now label, "research-oriented organizational development." Today a vast amount of organizational development is practised, but only a small portion of that work is systematically studied. Large numbers of organization studies contribute to basic knowledge about organizations, but fewer produce findings of immediate use to the respondents who contribute research data. It is unusual for research based organizational development to contribute to basic theory, or for the change implications of basic research to be addressed. Our experience with this study suggests certain conditions which seem to require and support research-oriented organizational development.

1. New Problems and Settings. Basic research was appropriate to the Gaight School because there had been virtually no systematic behavioral research on boarding schools at the time we began the project. Action was appropriate because the clients were experiencing difficulties which both they and we thought might benefit from organizational development work. At the same time, the boarding school was not a setting in which organizational development had been tried. There were thus two major reasons for combining research^{and} action in the Gaight project: (1) there was little behavioral science knowledge about boarding schools, and (2) there was little past experience utilizing organizational development techniques in boarding schools.

2. Depth of Ambivalence about Organizational Self Scrutiny. This study showed how extensively human beings resist providing information about their own systems. Argyris (1970, pp. 89-102) has provided an incisive account of the human problems associated with traditional approaches to rigorous research. Although we agree with his critique, we also believe that this study demonstrated that increased involvement alone is not enough to counteract the human pressures against providing information, as Argyris (1970, pp. 103-126) implies. In studying relatively large human systems, economic and logistic factors prevent the involvement of all potential respondents in the development of the research methods. Those not involved inevitably experience some alienation from the research process, no matter how "organic" it might be. Furthermore, our study also showed that even some of the people most centrally involved in the research process (i.e., the internal change agents) acted in ways that prevented certain important research questions from being answered, despite their extensive and conscientious cooperation in other areas.

Argyris also suggested that the use of more clinical methods (i.e., observation and interviews) helps reduce the reluctance of respondents to participate in research. Again, we agree with these suggestions as far as they go. But interviews provide no data from people who refuse to be interviewed (some Gaight faculty and most of one prefect group), and observations cannot be carried out if the researchers are not granted access to the phenomena. Organic research methods work for social systems where people show a willingness to confront their ambivalence about being studied and a readiness to trust the constructive and responsible intent of the investigators.

We think that some of the difficulties we faced might be further

surmounted by certain changes, researcher behavior, and contract setting. Although we made it clear from the outset of this study that we were doing research as well as action, these understandings were not as specific as they could be now. Most certainly we did not say--because we did not expect--that the research would be a substantial source of difficulty. Now we are much more aware of the extent of human resistance to research--even when the investigators identify and try to work through these problems. This resistance is not just a function of mechanistic research methods, although it is certainly exacerbated by procedures that require people to adopt a subservient relationship to investigators and perform monotonous and meaningless (in the respondents' eyes) activities. We are now more certain how painful organizational self-scrutiny is and are more able to alert potential respondents to the potential discomfort in advance of asking for their cooperation. When implemented, this process should start the working through process in advance of the expected difficulties, provide potential respondents with more informed choice about their participation, and insure the investigators with a basis for holding clients accountable for their commitments once they agree to join the project.

IV. AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL DILEMMA

This study of organizational change processes has important implications for the development of behavioral science knowledge. We frequently found that our data collection efforts left us with an inadequate understanding of the problems faced by the system, and that we were forced to intervene more or less directly to develop clearer knowledge of the phenomena. Such interventions might produce increased understanding

directly, or their failures might generate clues to further understanding. But inevitably the interventions ran the risk of changing the original situation and so making the eventual understanding relevant to a different phenomenon from the one originally in question. The areas in which this dilemma was most apparent included sarcasm, system entry and exit, and the prefects. In these areas our understanding was heavily tied to interventions or suffers from blank spots that are a result of choices not to intervene.

A. Sarcasm

We first learned about sarcasm when it interfered with learning in the two-day workshop for Gaight seniors; later because it became the subject of T-group discussion. This experience and "knowledge" influenced our diagnostic interview questions which in turn influenced the questionnaire content. The empathic questionnaire study indicated that respondents acknowledged the existence of sarcasm to the extent that we showed we already knew about the system. That study suggested that feedback of consultant information (albeit in the form of questions) was associated with obtaining additional information. In the feedback meetings arguments about the data, e.g., the harmfulness of sarcasm, were often conducted sarcastically. Here and now illustrations of sarcastic behavior allowed immediate exploration of how painful sarcasm could be and how interpersonal processes were unwittingly fueled by the participants in the interaction. These action-inquiry cycles increased our knowledge of how much sarcasm there was at Gaight, how painful it was to participants, and how to change it. But each cycle amounted to both an exploration and an intervention; the phenomena we ended up understanding was not necessarily the same one we began investigating.

B. Entry and Exit

As we were discussing the original diagnoses with the Gaight faculty, one researcher consultant met a faculty member who opened a group meeting by saying, "Either he goes or I go." The consultant's response to the challenge--a request for further exploration--turned the confrontation into a constructive group discussion of issues with school authorities. Out of this discussion came the seeds of the Faculty Forum, an institution formed to identify faculty concerns and, where necessary, to challenge the administration. The researchers gained the access to Gaight they desired from these discussions; Gaight gained a Faculty Forum. But the process of entry affected the system Gaight with a Faculty Forum is not identical to Gaight without.

The questionnaire reliability study (Chapter Three) is in a psychometric analogue to this entry episode. The reliability of student self-reported attitudes toward Gaight was a function of their degree of inclusion in the system; peak reliability occurred when students were most completely inside the system. Although this finding is not unreasonable, it also implies the existence of more uncertainty for researchers (and students) about the impact of the school at entry than later on. Interaction between school and student--which may change either or both--is required before attitudes are clarified, and researchers are not able to be very certain about the nature of those early developmental encounters.

The termination of this project is plagued by the same dilemma. The account of termination reported earlier in this chapter is the researcher-consultant's analysis. It is very likely that a request for discussion of termination would have been granted, but such a meeting would have altered the termination process. The consultant chose to leave further initiatives about termination to the clients, and we know less about the process (i.e.,

we have only the outsiders' views) than we would had we made a point of learning more. Efforts to understand inevitably influence the phenomenon under investigation.

7. Prefects

Our focused knowledge of the prefects and dormitory faculty really began only after our "unsuccessful attempt to intervene with them. The failure opened our minds to new understandings of the prefects' role, and it also influenced the prefects' behavior (according to their own words). The initial failure encouraged the prefects to be more open to interviews the following spring, when the diagnostic process expanded to include dormitory faculty. The next year's intervention proved more fruitful and followup analysis identified its limitations and led to a modified design for the subsequent fall. That modification provided for intervention during the school year, which generated further information about the complex nature of the prefect-dormitory faculty relationship and stimulated a structured change in disciplinary procedures. Sustained self-scrutinizing intervention attempts led to more understanding of problems of social control at Gaight; they also substantially changed some aspects of those problems.

These episodes all suggest that some kinds of knowledge about human systems are more likely to be available to those able to intervene on behalf of increased understanding of system members and increased responsiveness to member needs by the system. Knowledge-from-action is not available to investigators without the desire or the skills to facilitate change. We would argue that basic social science knowledge of human behavior will increase substantially as more professional researchers become skilled in

facilitating changes that increase the levels of understanding in subjects as well as investigators. But it is also clear that knowledge-from-action is not identical to knowledge-without-action. In all the episodes described the interventions of the researcher-consultants eventually contributed to their understanding of the system, but they also affected that system: the phenomenon of sarcasm, the processes of consultant entry and exit, and the precepts were all influenced by our efforts to understand, and our eventual understanding was of phenomena as influenced not as operating without the presence or interventions of the investigators. Some important aspects of human experience in organizations will remain unknowable to all but those who participate in them. The similarity between this dilemma and Hersenberg's uncertainty principle is unmistakable (Cline, 1965, Bronowski, 1973).

V. LEARNING FROM CHANGING: A STANCE

Learning from changing, the creation of knowledge-from action, poses a number of dilemmas to the researcher-consultant. The nature of the process requires that the researcher-consultant influence the very processes he is trying to understand, and so confound his assessment with his treatment. The complexity of the phenomena, the persistent dynamism of the variables, and the constant potential for reactive interaction between researcher-consultants and clients combine to violate virtually all of the traditionally-accepted canons of behavioral science research, yet we claim to be contributors to behavioral science knowledge as well as action oriented consultants. We want in this section to describe some of the philosophical and conceptual underpinnings of our work as researcher-consultants in the hope that these rudiments of a research-consultation

"stance" will contribute to growing understandings of the potential integration of research and practice.

The view of researchers as "objective" observers is no longer as sacrosanct as it once was in the behavioral sciences (Kelman, 1968, Gouldner, 1969). Polanyi (1958) has argued convincingly at the philosophical level that investigators do not have the option of understanding without bringing themselves into the process:

all meaning lies in the comprehension of a set of particulars in terms of a coherent entity -- a comprehension which is a personal act that can never be replaced by a formal operation (Polanyi, 1958: 49).

The very possibility of understanding requires the personal investment of the investigator: the myth of the "objective" researcher cannot be true if investigation is to be anything more than the sterile repetition of formulae.

A similar point has been reached through an alternative analysis like Hainer (1968), who argues that schools of logical analysis like rationalism and pragmatism are simply inadequate to the challenges posed by complex social phenomena. For Hainer, existentialism provides the philosophical infrastructure required by the informational complexity of the social sciences. In contrast to the "scientific" criteria posed by earlier logical traditions, existentialism offers choice and commitment as the central means of simplifying phenomena for investigators.

In a more pragmatic vein Schon (1971) has called attention to the impact of ever-accelerating rates of social change on the possibility of making rational or pragmatic decisions about future plans or behavior. Once "beyond the stable state", the environmental matrix of any behavioral planning may not be counted on to remain constant long enough to justify any assumptions based on previous experience. Schon suggests that past

experience can be used as a projection, but that learning from new experience will be a critical capacity for institutions of the future.

All these analyses suggest that articulation of the central commitments that undergird investigators' activities is critical. Polanyi (1958) has argued that the problem of biased results is mitigated by an investigator's commitment to the values of the search for truth:

A passionate search for the correct solution of a task leaves no arbitrary choice open to the seeker. He will have to guess but he must make the utmost effort to guess right. (Polanyi, 1958: 36.)

Assuming that genuine adoption of the search for truth, however, the assumptions made by investigators about how they will grapple with the chaotic complexity of behavioral science investigation can greatly influence the results of that search. We have tried to articulate in the pages that follow some of the commitments--the general heuristics--that we believe guided our work with the Gaight system. They form a skeleton of choices --a "stance"--that we believe make learning from changing in complex social systems tolerable and possible.

1. Commitment to Identifying Choices and to Understanding Their Consequences. This commitment involves efforts to clarify the alternatives available to the researcher-consultants and to the clients, and to examine carefully the implications of any single choice (Bennis, 1966). Investigating alternatives and their consequences is standard decision-making doctrine, at least before the decision is taken. But we are also concerned with trying to understand retrospectively what choices were available and what the consequences of unchosen alternatives might have been, behavior which contradicts well-accepted theories about human tendencies to rationalize rather than examine past decisions (e.g., cognitive dissonance theory).

Genuine commitment to identifying choices and understanding their consequences involves the individual in the central ambivalence that Maslow (1962) has called "the need to know and the fear of knowing". Serious examination of the choices available to us, their alternatives and our own behavior may reveal information that makes us uncomfortable. Maslow has suggested that both information that is damaging to our self esteem and information that suggests we may have untapped potential can evoke anxiety and the "fear of knowing."

The researcher-consultant role involves facilitating increased client understanding of his choices and their consequences. Although we on the whole eschew coercive forms of influence, there is a sort of "meta-coercion" involved in commitment to understanding choices and their consequences. For consistent client resistance is likely to end the consultation. Some degree of willingness to examine choices and their consequences is a sine qua non of our form of consultation: clients who are unwilling to tolerate and to some extent emulate our commitment to articulating choices and consequences sooner or later become non-clients.

The commitment to identifying and clarifying choices is a valuable principle for practical as well as theoretical reasons. It protects the client, and it frees the consultant. As long as the consultant is oriented toward creating choices for the client--not making them--he keeps himself from playing God. The client is offered greater awareness and increased opportunities, but he remains in essential control of his life. On these grounds alone this principle exerts a valuable control function in the client-consultant relationship. But the identification of choices is also a powerful lever for change. It frequently places the client in a situation in which he must confront himself choosing to avoid anxiety,

and growth if he selects a particular course of action. For people with certain kinds of self-concepts, this "choice" is not real. They cannot tolerate themselves in a "defensive" mode and will be especially oriented toward selecting more risky alternatives. An ethically alert consultant will not capitalize on this individual characteristic in order to further his own wishes or ends. On the other hand, there are individuals who prefer that their choices remain unclarified. The seemingly "value free" stance of a consultant who generates choices for such a client is really taking a stand which says that the anxiety associated with facing a choice is preferable to the security of ignorance.

For the researcher-consultant this commitment must be more than professional. It is not possible to help clients confront and cope with their "fear of knowing" without confronting and coping with your own. Researcher-consultants who model a one-way commitment to knowledge train their clients in a variant of the "do as I say, not as I do" game. Personal commitment to understanding one's own choices and their consequences--positive and negative--may well be a prerequisite to helping a client do so. Researcher-consultants who have faced and conquered the "fear of knowing" are in a better position to understand their clients' dilemmas and to describe and model ways of resolving them.

2. Commitment to Tolerating Emotional and Cognitive Complexity. The tasks of the researcher-consultant compel him to grapple with issues of considerable complexity. The phenomena involved in social systems and their change are intimidatingly complicated and difficult to understand, and as yet only the rudiments of theoretical and methodological tools for reducing that cognitive chaos to manageable terms exists. Furthermore, as an active agent in the situation who both affects and is affected by his clients, the researcher-consultant inevitably finds himself confronting

complex emotional dynamics as well, both in himself and in others. No researcher-consultant who is unwilling to tolerate a good deal of cognitive ambiguity and emotional ambivalence can long survive.

Although there is no hope of completely reducing the cognitive complexity the researcher consultant must be willing to run the risk of increasing ambiguity and ambivalence in efforts to explore the issues and their implications. Explanations and hypotheses must be put to the test of potential disconfirmation. Action steps must be examined to see if they in fact accomplish the ends for which they were planned. Emotional undercurrents must be explored for genuineness and implications.

The commitment to tolerating emotional and cognitive complexity in some ways is a necessary corollary of the commitment to identifying choices and understanding their implications. For example, choices and consequences are inevitably accompanied by ambiguity and ambivalence. For those who are particularly sensitive to cognitive ambiguity, the temptation is to slip into either oversimplified models of consultation and eschew research ("research is irrelevant to effective consultation"), or to elaborate complex theoretical models that are more appropriate to "basic research" than to the everyday vagaries of consultation ("basic research should avoid action roles"). These stances choose to emphasize one or the other side of research-consultation, but not to confront the cognitive complexity of both. The pains of the emotional complexity of research-consultation are likely to be expressed in unrealistic optimism that is in part a consequence of denial of some aspects of the situation, or unrealistic cynicism that is in part a function of resignation. In both cases, the individual researcher-consultant has managed his ambivalence by choosing one side or the other, he copes with the emotional dilemmas of

research-consultation by adopting a general outlook at the expense of realism.

Ultimately, commitment to tolerating emotional and cognitive complexity must be balanced against commitment to understanding choices and their consequences. In practice willingness to develop explanations and an awareness of feelings must be combined with willingness to accept new data that is ^{inconsistent} with those explanations and to accept new feelings different from the old. Research consultation requires striving for understanding and awareness without indulging in an overcommitment to the products of that striving that hobbles future understanding or awareness. It is interesting in this light that Bronowski (1973) renamed Heisenberg's "uncertainty principle" to be "the principle of tolerance."

3. Commitment to Long-Term Development. Learning from changing in social systems is not a short-term process. Researcher-consultants who are committed to research and action in complex systems like organizations must be prepared to go on working with the organization over long periods of time. It was a year before we began to make developmental interventions at the Gaight School, and two years later a number of issues were just becoming understood as problems subject to developmental interventions. The complexity of organizational functioning often requires long study before interventions can be successfully planned, and relationships with the client system must be built before most interventions can be expected to be effective regardless of understanding.

Long-term commitment also makes it possible for the researcher-consultant to learn from mistakes which in the short run would remain failures rather than foci of further investigation. The gradual development of understanding and more effective interventions with the prefects and

the corridor masters is a case in point; without the long-term commitment to understanding and consultation the first or second failure to work with the prefects would probably have ended our interest in them. In fact, however, during the dangers of reiterating our interest in consultation and repeating data collection eventually led to both better understanding and more effective consultation.

The more the researcher-consultant is prepared to undertake the rigors and frustrations of long term developmental work with the system, the better the chances of durable change and valid knowledge development. Both effective action and valid research in complex and dynamic social systems require willingness to re-examine misunderstandings and false starts, and it is very difficult to do so outside of long-term projects.

4. Commitment to Creative Management of Differences. The seeds of new understandings and new behaviors lie in the differences between and among researcher-consultants and clients. But whether those differences result in creative changes or destructive consequences rests in large part on how the parties deal with them. All too often differences lead to tension conflict, and premature closes that at worst makes further interaction problematic and at best leaves important potential contributions unexplored. As long as resolution by withdrawal or by win/lose strategies dominates the process of difference management, the possibilities of a synthesis that transcends the understanding or effectiveness of any one view is impossible.

If researcher-consultants are able to tolerate the tensions involved in explicitly recognizing and exploring the differences, the opportunities for improving both sides' understanding of one another and for developing a creative synthesis increase. Commitment to creative difference management

imposes on the researcher-consultant the burden of modelling a new form of difference management for clients who may be sophisticated at other forms and unenthused about changing. If the clients are accustomed to other forms of conflict management, the researcher-consultant may find himself torn between acting by his client's standards or by his own. Though in the long run surrendering his commitment to creative management of differences will undermine the researcher-consultant's effectiveness, it is also possible that refusal to respond to differences in style between the consultant and client (difference management at another level) will hamstring the possible outcomes of the consultation at the start.

5. Commitment to Process as well as Content. The way in which problems are handled may well be more important than the solutions developed, and researcher-consultant commitment to dealing with the process of their work as well as its output is critical. It is possible to broach problems or present solutions in ways that guarantee that they will not be understood or solved, and that no one (including the researcher-consultants) will learn anything from the experience. On the other hand, we believe it is possible to develop processes for increasing understanding and facilitating constructive change that lead both to specific problem solutions and to general learning relevant to future problems for both researcher consultants and clients.

The process by which researcher-consultants explore the choices and their consequences facing them and their clients, for example, can have important effects on the outcomes. Similarly, the processes by which differences are managed can greatly affect the quality of the resolutions of those differences and the nature of the parties' subsequent interactions. The "optimal" answer achieved by an "unsatisfactory" process may in the long run be less useful than a "less-than optimal" answer achieved by a

"satisfactory" process. More specifically, the researcher-consultant called in from outside to help an organization deal with problems is automatically in a position to. But if he can explore issues with the client in a way that permits himself to be vulnerable as well (e.g., by raising questions in ways to allow the possibility of his being wrong, or by treating differences between him and the client as worthy of respect and exploration), the chances of a problem-solving process that will lead to long-term understanding and effective change increase. Ultimately, of course, both the way in which problems are solved and the nature of the solutions are important, but typically the pressures on the researcher-consultant are to ignore process and to produce content.

Researcher-consultants and clients in organizational settings engage in both "learning from changing" and "changing from learning" if their collaboration is at all fruitful. We have described five commitments to ways of thinking and behaving that we think characterize researcher-consultants who deal successfully with the pragmatic and philosophic chaos that is action research in organizational change.

But alternative choices, emotional and cognitive complexity, long-term development, differences, and process and content of interaction are not characteristics of organizational change situations alone. On the contrary, they are characteristic issues in the lives of citizens of modern societies. In a larger sense, the commitments we have described may be important to everyone confronted by the complexity of modern life. We are all perforce learning from changing and changing from learning every day.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Diagnostic Interview Schedule.

(Fall--September-October--1969; Chapter Four)

GAIGHT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Introductory statement:

- a. purpose of the study
- b. how the person was selected
- c. how the data will be used--confidentiality
- d. tape recorder
- e. types of questions, freedom to decline answering or turn off machine
- f. any questions.

2. Could we begin with your telling me about your activities here at Gaight?
(Paraphrase, if needed, in a general way, how do you spend your time?)

How long have you been at Gaight?

Have other members of your family been connected with Gaight?

Of your various activities, what are the most important to you?

3. Could you tell me how it was that you came to Gaight?

4. What in your experience at Gaight have you found to be the most valuable to you?

5. What in your experience at Gaight have you found to be least valuable to you?

6. What sort of opinions do you have about the curriculum at Gaight?

7. What sort of impression do you have of the Gaight faculty?

What are their major strengths? Major weaknesses?

Do you perceive any subgroups within the faculty? Describe them.

Is there a faculty member with whom you have an especially good relationship?

If yes, what led up to it?

If no, why not?

Is there a faculty member with whom you would like to improve your relationship? What seems to be preventing your doing it?

8. What sort of impression do you have of the Gaight administration?
Who would you include in this group?
What are their major strengths? Major weaknesses?
How are decisions made by this group?
9. What sort of impression do you have of Gaight students?
10. What sort of impression do you have of the students in your class?
Who are the leaders?
How would you characterize the subgroups?
Are there people who seem to go their own way without being very integrated with the other class members? How does this happen?
11. Could you tell me what you understand the role of a prefect to be?
What impact do the prefects have on the Gaight community?
12. Could you tell me what you feel are the most significant rules of the Gaight community?
How do you feel about the system of rules?
13. Now I would like to ask you a different kind of question. Would you think back until this time yesterday. Now would you trace for me the major events in your life from this time yesterday until the start of this interview?

(Explore the feelings connected with the various events.)
14. Where do you do most of your learning and growing in this community?
What factors most seem to aid your growth and development?
What factors most seem to block or interfere with your growth and development?
15. Do you have an idea of what it is to be considered "successful" in this community?
Do you find this to be a valid or useful concept?
16. How do you feel about your capacities to meet the kinds of demands that Gaight makes on you?
17. What kind of fit do you find between yourself and the Gaight community?

18. Is there a student or group of students with whom you feel you have an especially good relationship?

If yes, what led up to it?

If no, why not?

19. Is there a student or group of students with whom you would like to improve your relationship? What seems to be preventing your doing it?

20. Have you ever thought of leaving Gaight?

If yes, what were the conditions?

21. How do you find the physical living conditions at Gaight? (e.g., rooms, food, physical facilities, etc.)

22. Would you expect to send your children to Gaight?

If yes, why? If no, why not?

23. Is there anything about Gaight that you would like to see changed? (e.g., faculty, administration, type of students, curriculum, facilities, rules, etc.)

24. If you were to advise me about one thing that I should understand to be able to fully appreciate life at Gaight, what would it be?

25. Is there anything else that we should discuss to get a full picture of life at Gaight?

26. Now that we have covered the interview questions, is there anything that you would like to ask of me?

Appendix B. Diagnostic Questionnaire 1 and 2

(Fall--November--1969; Chapter Five)

Questionnaire 1: Event Based Questionnaire

Name _____

Date _____

Administrator _____ Faculty _____ Student _____ (Class _____)

Most of you are probably aware that we have been interviewing various people at Gaight over the last few weeks in an attempt to understand more about the nature of life at Gaight and the problems that people face here. We are not, unfortunately, going to be able to interview everyone. This questionnaire is an attempt to find out what everyone at Gaight thinks about some of the issues that seem to be important to people that we have interviewed.

You will find that there are two kinds of questions. One kind is "free response." You will be given a general question and asked to answer by writing in your own words. The second kind is "fixed response." In these questions you answer by choosing one of several alternatives which we provide, usually by writing numbers. We were aided in preparing this questionnaire by the student-faculty liaison committee. They made many helpful suggestions about how we might eliminate or alter specific questions; wherever possible, we tried to utilize their suggestions.

In our efforts to reduce the length of the questionnaire so that it is possible to complete it in one class period, we have cut our original questionnaire in half, and will administer the two questionnaires equally. Thus, half of the people at Gaight will answer one, and half will answer the other.

At the same time it may still be true that you will find that some of the questions are difficult or otherwise bothersome. We ask only that you do your best in answering the questions. Do not spend a great deal of time on any question. The first answer that comes to your mind is often the most valid. If you find that some questions are not relevant or take too much time just mark them with an "X" and go on. Answer the questions in the order in which they are presented.

Please try to be honest with your answers. In this way you can help Gaight realize its potential as a learning community. All answers are confidential. Our report will be made in terms of group breakdown (e.g., freshmen, seniors, faculty, etc.).

In advance, we thank you!

Significant Events

Below we list a number of incidents which people have described during our interviews with individuals and groups at Gaight. We would like to ask you two things about each incident:

- a. Have you ever observed or had someone tell you about something like this?

1 Never or almost never	3 Sometimes
2 Rarely	4 Often
5 Very often	

- b. How do you personally react to something like this?

-2 Very negatively	0 Neutrally
-1 Negatively	+1 Positively
+2 Very positively	

1. A freshman is thrown into the pond by several upper classmen.

_____a

_____b

2. In a class a student asks the teacher a question, to which the teacher responds by asking the student why he asked. Before the student can answer the teacher, another student says, "Because he was stupid!" The class laughs.

_____a

_____b

3. An election for some student office is rigged by the faculty.

_____a

_____b

4. A freshman spends an entire day in his room with the door locked in order to avoid being harrassed by upper classmen.

_____a

_____b

5. An upper classman seeks out and offers help to a freshman.

_____a

_____b

6. A faculty member uses physical force to discipline a student.

_____a

_____b

Significant Events - continued

- a. Have you ever observed or had someone tell you about something like this?

1 Never or almost never	3 Sometimes
2 Rarely	4 Often
5 Very often	

- b. How do you personally react to something like this?

-2 Very negatively	0 Neutrally
-1 Negatively	+1 Positively
+2 Very positively	

7. At a talk in Vespers a faculty member says something which you know (or later learn) to be less than the full truth.

____ a

____ b

8. A student leader (such as a prefect or team captain) shows partiality in carrying out his duties or in some other way violates the spirit of the job he holds.

____ a

____ b

9. A student who is known to be isolated or lacking in connections with other people at Gaigh is invited or in some other way helped to find people with whom he can relate.

____ a

____ b

10. A student who is having trouble with his school work is helped by another student (without the helper doing the learner's work for him).

____ a

____ b

11. A student who has excelled in some activity (academic, athletic, or extracurricular) is congratulated by his peers in his presence.

____ a

____ b

12. A student who is known to have broken a major rule is reported by a prefect.

____ a

____ b

Personal Events:

1. What is the most significant thing you have done at Gaith? What led up to it? What effects did it have?

Please rate the event's importance to you.

Unimportant							Very important
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

2. What is the most significant thing that has happened to you at Gaith? What led up to it? What effects did it have?

Please rate the event's importance to you.

Unimportant							Very important
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Significant People

To what extent do the following people influence you, allow you to influence them, and help you when you need it?

1 means Not at All
2 means Very Little
3 means Little

4 means Some
5 means Quite a Bit
6 means A Great Deal

	Influence <u>On</u> Me	Influence <u>By</u> Me	Helps Me
Administrators			
(in general)			
Headmaster			
Assistant Headmaster			
Dean of Students			
Chaplain			
Other _____			
Faculty (in general)			
Corridor Masters			
Advisors			
Coaches			
Other _____			
Students (in general)			
Prefects			
Class Committee			
Friends at Gaight (please <u>rate</u> the three closest, but <u>identify</u> them only if you wish to).			

Outsiders (in general)			
Parents			
Friends made at Gaight but no longer here			
Other _____			

Preferences

Please circle either "a" or "b", whichever seems most appropriate to you.
Please answer all the questions.

1. a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
2. Do you admire more the person who is
a. conventional enough never to make himself conspicuous.
b. too original and individual to care whether he is conspicuous or not.
3. When you just go somewhere for the day, would you rather
a. plan what you will do and when
b. just go
4. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.
5. Which word appeals to you more?
a. theory
b. certainty
6. Which word appeals to you more?
a. systematic
b. casual
7. a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.
8. Which word appeals to you more?
a. facts
b. ideas
9. Do you find the more routine parts of the day
a. restful
b. boring
10. a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
11. Is it higher praise to call someone
a. a man of vision
b. a man of common sense
12. When it is settled well in advance that you will do a certain thing at a certain time do you find it
a. a little unpleasant to be tied down
b. nice to be able to plan accordingly

13. a. The average citizen can have influence in government decisions.
b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.
14. Which word appeals to you more?
a. sign
b. symbol
15. Which word appeals to you more?
a. unplanned
b. scheduled
16. a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
17. Would you rather have as a friend someone who
a. is always coming up with new ideas
b. has both feet on the ground
18. Which word appeals to you more?
a. spontaneous
b. systematic
19. a. Who gets to be boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability. luck has little or nothing to do with it.
20. In your scheme of living do you prefer to be
a. original
b. conventional
21. When there is a special job to be done, do you like
a. to organize it carefully before you start
b. to find out what is necessary as you go along
22. a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.
b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.
23. Which word appeals to you more?
a. concrete
b. abstract
24. Is it harder for you to adapt to
a. constant change
b. routine
25. a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
b. There really is no such thing as luck.
26. Do you usually get on better with
a. imaginative people
b. realistic people
27. Does following a schedule
a. cramp you
b. appeal to you
28. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

"Cutting people down" at Gaight

A. The subject of "cutting people down" has been mentioned several times during the interviews. Would you give your perceptions on this subject by answering the following questions.

1. The amount of sarcasm in the Gaight community is: _____ Very High

_____ High

(check your answer)

_____ Moderate

_____ Low

_____ Very Low

2. In comparison to previous years, the amount of sarcasm in the Gaight community is:

_____ Much Less

_____ Less

(check your answer)

_____ The Same

_____ More

_____ Much More

B. Answer the following questions by writing the number that best expresses your opinion.

1 means Never or Almost Never

3 means Sometimes

2 means Rarely

4 means Often

5 means Very Often

- _____ 1. I am sarcastic to students in their presence.
- _____ 2. I am ridiculed by faculty members in my presence.
- _____ 3. I ridicule students behind their backs.
- _____ 4. I am laughed at by faculty members in my presence.
- _____ 5. Students are sarcastic to me.
- _____ 6. I ridicule faculty members in their presence.
- _____ 7. Students ridicule me behind my back.
- _____ 8. I laugh at faculty members behind their backs.
- _____ 9. I am sarcastic to faculty members in their presence.
- _____ 10. I am ridiculed by students in my presence.
- _____ 11. I ridicule faculty members behind their backs.
- _____ 12. I am laughed at by students in my presence.
- _____ 13. Faculty members are sarcastic to me.
- _____ 14. I ridicule students in their presence.
- _____ 15. Faculty members ridicule me behind my back.
- _____ 16. I laugh at students behind their backs.

Please feel free to make additional comments on this subject on the back of this paper.

Models

Everybody has models, people after whom he would like to pattern himself. Would you please list five people who you have known and after whom you would like to pattern some aspect of yourself. For each person, please give either their relationship to you (e.g., teacher, friend, uncle) or their name (e.g. John Lennon, Robert Taft, Joe Namath). For each person indicate what qualities, characteristics, talents, or abilities you would like to adopt or maintain.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Questionnaire 2: Theory Based Questionnaire

Name _____

Date _____

Administrator _____ Faculty _____ Student _____ (Class _____)

Most of you are probably aware that we have been interviewing various people at Gaight over the last few weeks in an attempt to understand more about the nature of life at Gaight and the problems that people face here. We are not, unfortunately, going to be able to interview everyone. This questionnaire is an attempt to find out what everyone at Gaight thinks about some of the issues that seem to be important to people that we have interviewed.

You will find that there are two kinds of questions. One kind is "free response". You will be given a general question and asked to answer by writing in your own words. The second kind is "fixed response". In these questions you answer by choosing one of several alternatives which we provide, usually by writing numbers. We were aided in preparing this questionnaire by the student-faculty liaison committee. They made many helpful suggestions about how we might eliminate or alter specific questions, wherever possible, we tried to utilize their suggestions.

In our efforts to reduce the length of the questionnaire so that it is possible to complete it in one class period, we have cut our original questionnaire in half, and will administer the two questionnaires equally. Thus, half of the people at Gaight will answer one, and half will answer the other.

At the same time it may still be true that you will find that some of the questions are difficult or otherwise bothersome. We ask only that you do your best in answering the questions. Do not spend a great deal of time on any question. The first answer that comes to your mind is often the most valid. If you find that some questions are not relevant or take too much time just mark them with an "X" and go on. Answer the questions in the order in which they are presented.

Please try to be honest with your answers. In this way you can help Gaight realize its potential as a learning community. All answers are confidential. Our report will be made in terms of group breakdown (e.g. freshmen, seniors, faculty, etc.).

In advance, we thank you!

Paragraph Completions

Please complete the following paragraphs based on your experience at Gaight.

1. The most significant characteristics of the Gaight community are

2. Gaight has helped me most to

3. My personal development at Gaight has been most affected by

4. My biggest problem at Gaight is

The Individual at Gaight

A. Please answer the following by writing the number that best expresses the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement.

1 means Strong Agree

2 means Agree

3 means Slightly Agree

4 means Slightly Disagree

5 means Disagree

6 means Strongly Disagree

- ___ 1. I am highly satisfied with my experience at Gaight.
- ___ 2. I am really pretty apathetic about my life at Gaight.
- ___ 3. I have an opportunity to use many of my abilities in my academic activities at Gaight.
- ___ 4. I seldom get the feeling of learning new things from non-academic activities at Gaight.
- ___ 5. I feel I am esteemed by my peers in the Gaight community.
- ___ 6. I am very much dissatisfied with my experience at Gaight.
- ___ 7. The most important things happening in my life involve Gaight.
- ___ 8. My major abilities are seldom needed in my academic activities.
- ___ 9. I get an opportunity to use many of my abilities in non-academic activities.
- ___ 10. I feel that relatively few of my peers respect me.
- ___ 11. I have often thought about leaving Gaight permanently.
- ___ 12. I am personally very much involved in the Gaight community.
- ___ 13. I seldom get the feeling of learning new things from my academic activities.
- ___ 14. Non-academic activities have helped me to see some talents I never knew I had.
- ___ 15. I feel rejected by many of my peers at Gaight.
- ___ 16. I have never thought about leaving Gaight permanently.
- ___ 17. I feel alienated from the Gaight community.
- ___ 18. My academic activities have helped me to see some talents I never knew I had.
- ___ 19. My major abilities are seldom needed in non-academic activities.
- ___ 20. I feel accepted by my peers at Gaight.

B. How much do you think influence is shared within and between the following groups? Write the number which best expresses your opinion.

1 means Shared by All

2 means Shared by a Large Majority

3 means Shared by More than Half

4 means Shared by Less than Half

5 means Shared by a Small Minority

6 means Restricted to a Few

___ Students

___ Students and Faculty

___ Faculty

___ Students and Administration

___ Administration

___ Faculty and Administration

What Counts for You

A. How important do you find each of the following? Write the number which best expresses your opinion.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 means Not Important | 3 means Somewhat Important |
| 2 means Slightly Important | 4 means Very Important |
| 5 means Extremely Important | |

- ___ 1. Developing your talents from academic activities.
- ___ 2. Using your abilities in non-academic activities.
- ___ 3. Living spaces that allow privacy.
- ___ 4. Using your abilities in academic activities.
- ___ 5. Being respected by your peers at Gaith.
- ___ 6. Living spaces that minimize your sense of being confined.
- ___ 7. Developing your talents from non-academic activities.
- ___ 8. Being fully accepted as a person by your peers at Gaith.
- ___ 9. High quality food.
- ___ 10. Being esteemed by your peers at Gaith.
- ___ 11. Other (please specify) _____

B. How much more do you want each of the following? Write the number which best expresses your opinion.

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 means No More | 3 means Somewhat More |
| 2 means Slightly More | 4 means Much More |
| 5 means Very Much More | |

- ___ 1. Developing your talents from academic activities.
- ___ 2. Using your abilities in non-academic activities.
- ___ 3. Living spaces that allow privacy.
- ___ 4. Using your abilities in academic activities.
- ___ 5. Being respected by your peers at Gaith.
- ___ 6. Living spaces that minimize your sense of being confined.
- ___ 7. Developing your talents from non-academic activities.
- ___ 8. Being fully accepted as a person by your peers at Gaith.
- ___ 9. High quality food.
- ___ 10. Being esteemed by your peers at Gaith.
- ___ 11. Other (please specify) _____

Individual Responses to the Environment

Please mark the following questions according to the extent to which the statement is true for you.

1 means Strongly Agree

2 means Agree

3 means Slightly Agree

4 means Slight Disagree

5 means Disagree

6 means Strongly Disagree

- ___ 1. I prefer not to let my thinking be clouded by emotions.
- ___ 2. I make special efforts to hear all sides in controversies.
- ___ 3. I am a highly emotional person.
- ___ 4. I am willing to tolerate some personal discomfort in order to increase my self awareness.
- ___ 5. I have big ups and downs in my life.
- ___ 6. I seek to know and understand a lot about the people around me.
- ___ 7. My feelings change frequently.
- ___ 8. If a person cannot say something positive to me about myself, I'd rather he say nothing.
- ___ 9. I tend to be less emotional than most people.
- ___ 10. My life is complicated enough without looking for much new information.
- ___ 11. I like it when people level with me.
- ___ 12. It is difficult for me to hide my feelings.
- ___ 13. Unexpected events provide me with little interesting information.
- ___ 14. I am often strongly moved by my experiences.
- ___ 15. If there is some personal stress in gaining self-knowledge, I'd prefer not to know.
- ___ 16. I am almost always able to maintain a calm front.
- ___ 17. I like to know a lot about my environment.
- ___ 18. I never let myself cry.
- ___ 19. I prefer to find things out about myself even when they hurt.
- ___ 20. I think I am better able to express my feelings than most people.
- ___ 21. I ask a lot of questions in unfamiliar situations.

Ideal Life

1. Rank each of the following factors in the order of priority you give it to form the ideal life for you. Give a rank of "1" to the item that you MOST prefer in the ideal life, a rank of "8" to the item you LEAST prefer, and so on for the factors in between.
2. After completing the ranking, then distribute 100 points among the eight factors. Give the highest number of points to the item you prefer MOST, the lowest number of points to the factor you prefer LEAST, and so on for the items in between. After you have completed distributing the points, please check to be sure they add to 100.

Points Ranking

- | | | |
|-------|-------|--|
| _____ | _____ | Comfortable living arrangements |
| _____ | _____ | A chance to make full use of my abilities |
| _____ | _____ | Open and trusting relations with students |
| _____ | _____ | A secure future |
| _____ | _____ | Open and trusting relations with faculty members |
| _____ | _____ | A chance to increase my self-awareness and inter personal competence |
| _____ | _____ | Relative freedom from tension and pressure |
| _____ | _____ | Opportunities to learn new things |
| _____ | | TOTAL |

"Cutting people down" at Gaight

A. The subject of "cutting people down" has been mentioned several times during the interviews. Would you give your perceptions on this subject by answering the following questions.

1. The amount of sarcasm in the Gaight community is: _____ Very High

_____ High

(check your answer) _____ Moderate

_____ Low

_____ Very Low

2. In comparison to previous years, the amount of sarcasm in the Gaight community is:

_____ Much Less

_____ Less

a (check your answer) _____ The Same

_____ More

_____ Much More

B. Answer the following questions by writing the number that best expresses your opinion.

1 means Never or Almost Never

3 means Sometimes

2 means Rarely

4 means Often

5 means Very Often

- _____ 1. I am sarcastic to students in their presence.
- _____ 2. I am ridiculed by faculty members in my presence.
- _____ 3. I ridicule students behind their backs.
- _____ 4. I am laughed at by faculty members in my presence.
- _____ 5. Students are sarcastic to me.
- _____ 6. I ridicule faculty members in their presence.
- _____ 7. Students ridicule me behind my back.
- _____ 8. I laugh at faculty members behind their backs.
- _____ 9. I am sarcastic to faculty members in their presence.
- _____ 10. I am ridiculed by students in my presence.
- _____ 11. I ridicule faculty members behind their backs.
- _____ 12. I am laughed at by students in my presence.
- _____ 13. Faculty members are sarcastic to me.
- _____ 14. I ridicule students in their presence.
- _____ 15. Faculty members ridicule me behind my back.
- _____ 16. I laugh at students behind their backs.

Please feel free to make additional comments on this subject on the back of this paper.

Models

Everybody has models, people after whom he would like to pattern himself. Would you please list five people who you have known and after whom you would like to pattern some aspect of yourself. For each person, please give either their relationship to you (e.g., teacher, friend, uncle) or their name (e.g., John Lennon, Robert Taft, Joe Namath). For each person please indicate what qualities, characteristics, talents, or abilities you would like to adopt or maintain.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Appendix C. Prefects and Dormitory Staff Interviews

(Spring 1970-Spring 1972; Chapter Six)

Prefect Interview

Could you trace out the main events of the year for you in your role as a prefect?

What have been the main successes of this group of prefects? Main failures?

What have you gained personally? What costs?

Which rules have you been willing to enforce?

How often?

With whom?

What kinds of help have you received from

Administration

Faculty (especially corridor masters)

Classmates

Prefects

What kinds of difficulties have been caused for you by

Administration

Faculty

Classmates

Prefects

How do you feel about prefects as agents of change in the Gaight community?

How well have the prefects, as a group, been able to work together?

Have you personally broken any major school rules?

Circumstances

What is your perception of what happened last fall vis a vis the prefects and the Yale Study?

What advice would you give to someone who was going to be a prefect?

Pitfalls

Opportunities

Knowing what you know now, what would you recommend to future prefects about engaging in leadership and group training?

Permitory Faculty Interviews

Introduction:

purpose
confidentiality

What do you view as the major elements in the corridor master's job?

What have you gained personally from doing this job?

What costs have you experienced?

What are your impressions of this year's prefect group?

How do you work together with the prefects on your corridor?

(e.g., help, difficulties)

How do you work together with other corridor masters on your corridor?

(e.g., sources of help, sources of difficulty)

If you think someone is smoking in a student's room, what approach do you take?

If you think a room has a reputation for being a drug center, what do you do?

What do you do if you learn reliably that a student on your corridor is a regular drinker?

How do you work with the administration in your role as a corridor master?

What difference will the new headmaster make?

How did you react to the corridor masters' meetings?

How could the effectiveness of corridor masters be improved?

How could a corridor master's life be made more gratifying?

In retrospect, what reactions do you have to the activities we did last fall?

What difference has coeducation made?

Any other comments?

Compare this year to others.

J. J. 1

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Appendix D. Feedback Materials
(Spring-March-May-1970; Chapter Eight)

GALIGHT FEEDBACK

All Responses: Satisfaction, Apathy, and Learning.

I am highly satisfied with my experience at Gaight.

	1 (Strongly Agree)	2 (Agree)	3 (Slightly Agree)	4 (Slightly Disagree)	5 (Disagree)	6 (Strongly Disagree)	Total
No. of Responses	57	84	28	12	12	6	199
% of Responses	28	42	14	6	6	3	99
Average	2.28						

I am really pretty apathetic about my life at Gaight.

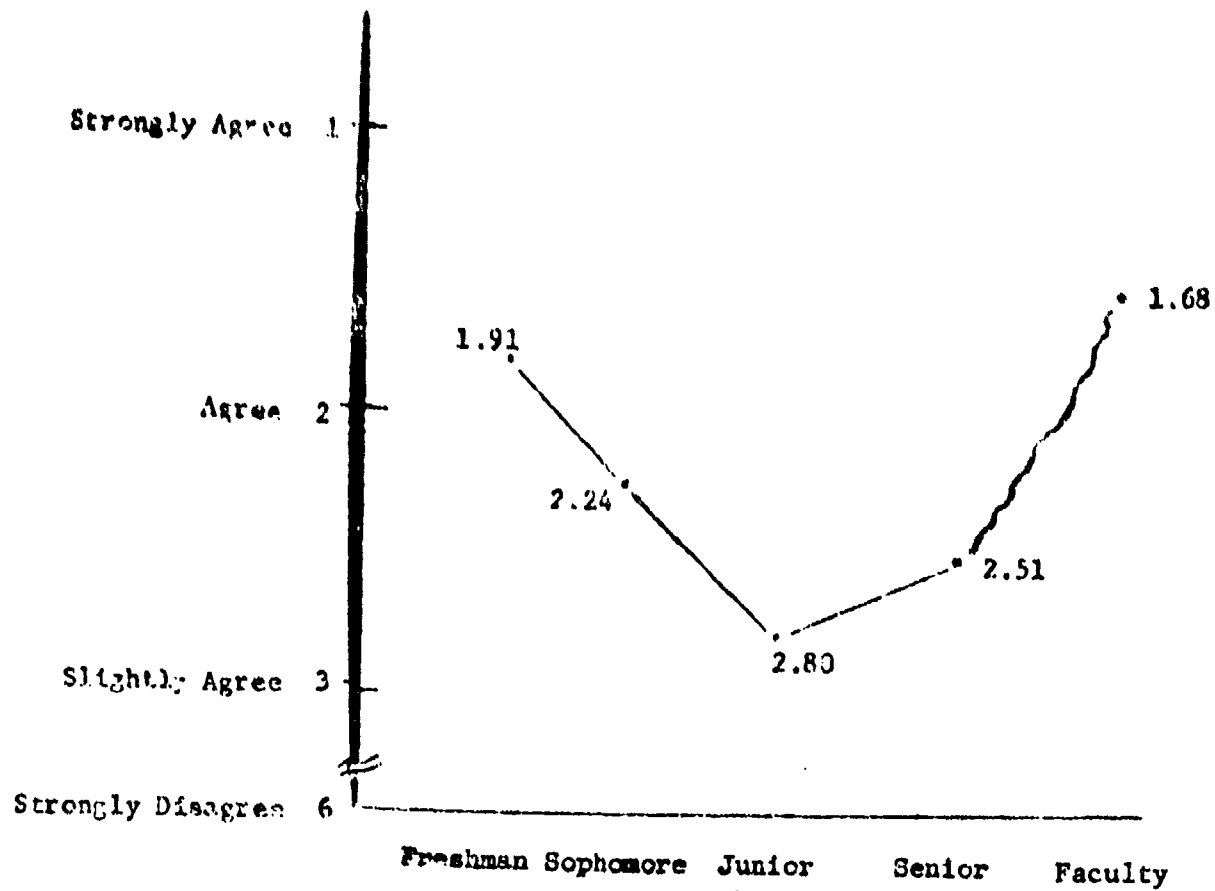
	1 (Strongly Agree)	2 (Agree)	3 (Slightly Agree)	4 (Slightly Disagree)	5 (Disagree)	6 (Strongly Disagree)	Total
No. of Responses	6	15	19	16	63	66	185
% of Responses	3	8	10	9	34	36	100
Average	4.69						

I have often thought about leaving Gaight permanently.

	1 (Strongly Agree)	2 (Agree)	3 (Slightly Agree)	4 (Slightly Disagree)	5 (Disagree)	6 (Strongly Disagree)	Total
No. of Responses	15	24	23	19	48	71	200
% of Responses	8	12	11	10	24	35	100
Average	4.37						

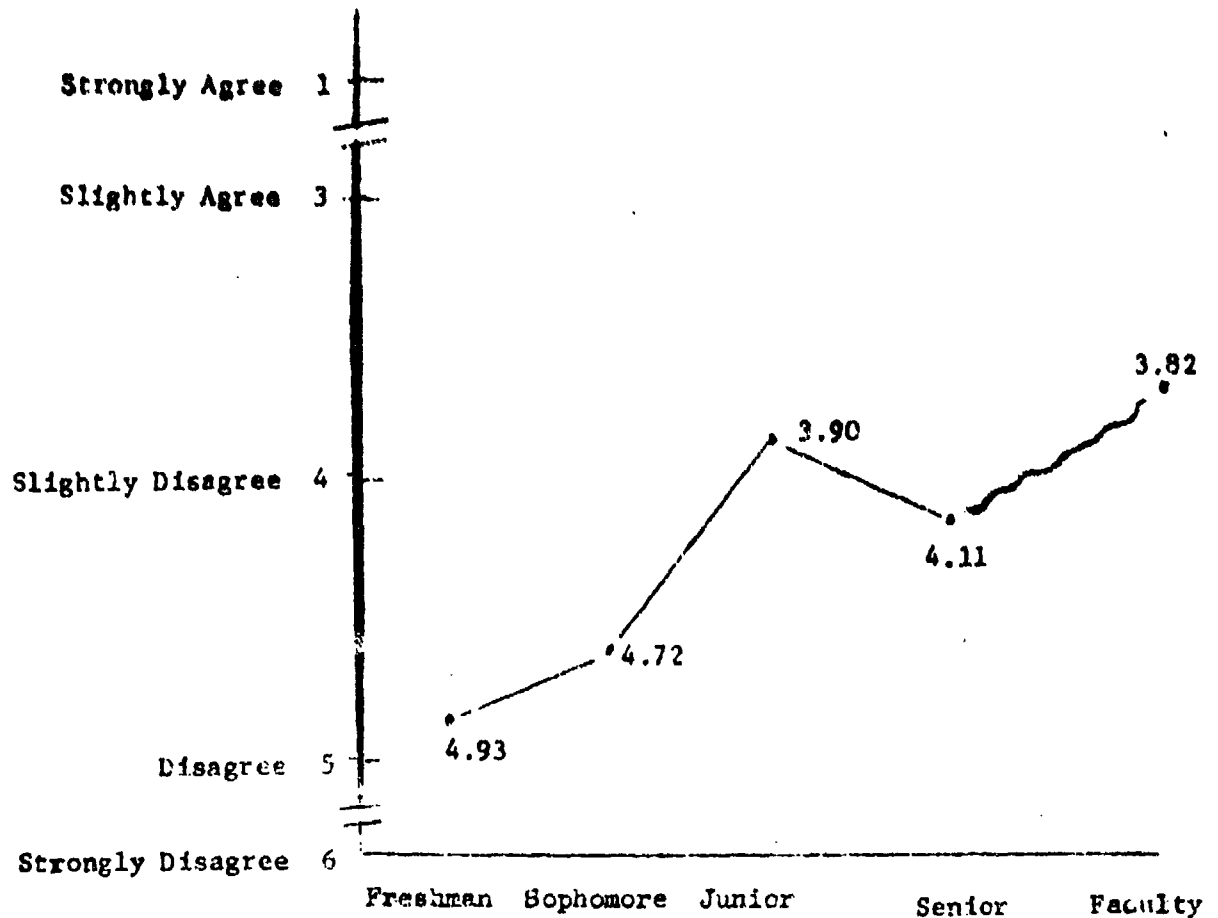
D-2

I am highly satisfied with my experience at Gaight.



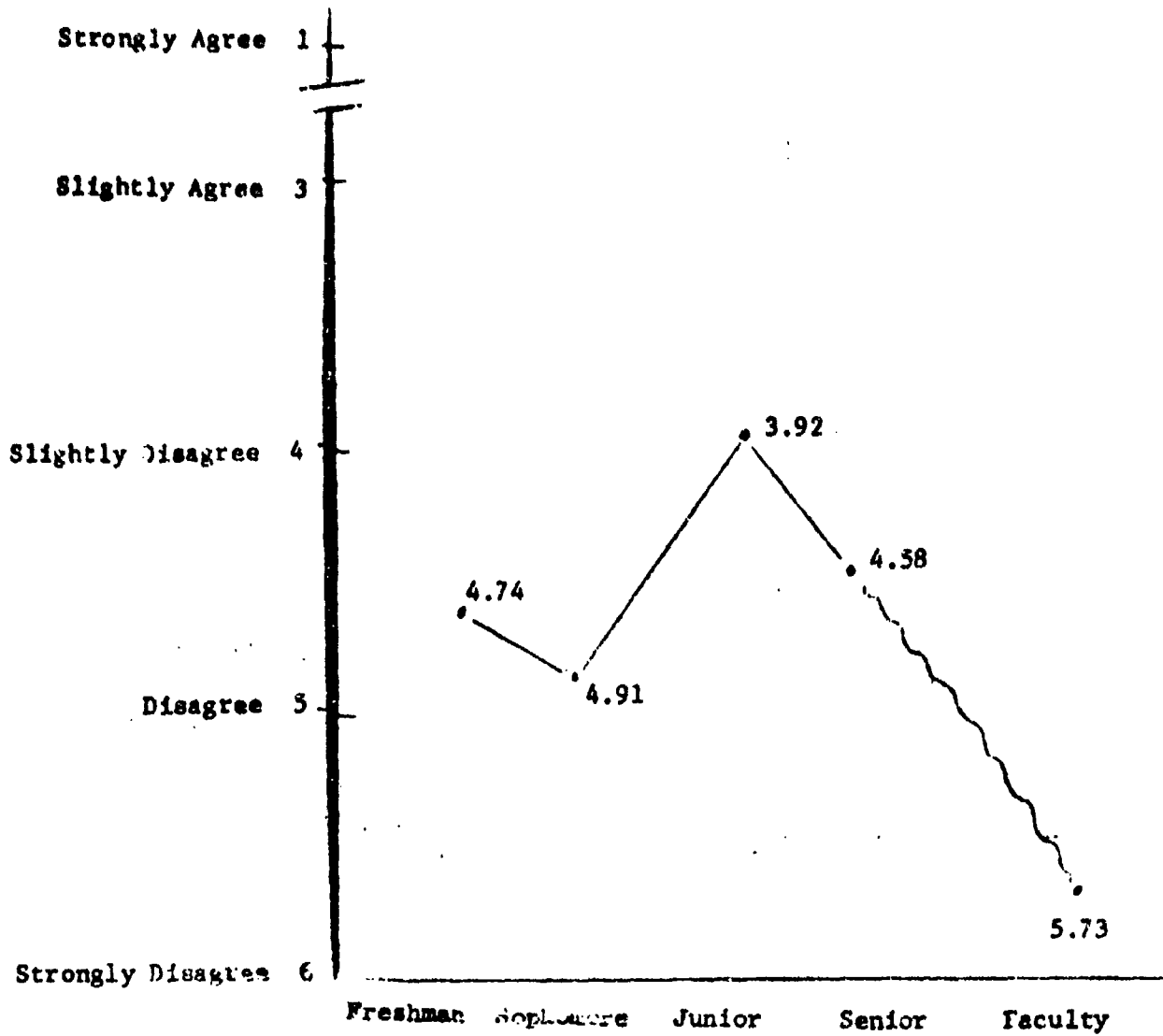
% Agree or Strongly Agree	84.1	68.0	55.0	67.4	86.4
% Disagree or Strongly Disagree	4.6	6.0	17.5	13.9	0.0

I have often thought about leaving Oaight permanently.



% Agree or Strongly Agree	9.1	12.0	35.0	22.7	21.7
% Disagree or Strongly Disagree	72.7	72.0	50.0	50.0	30.9

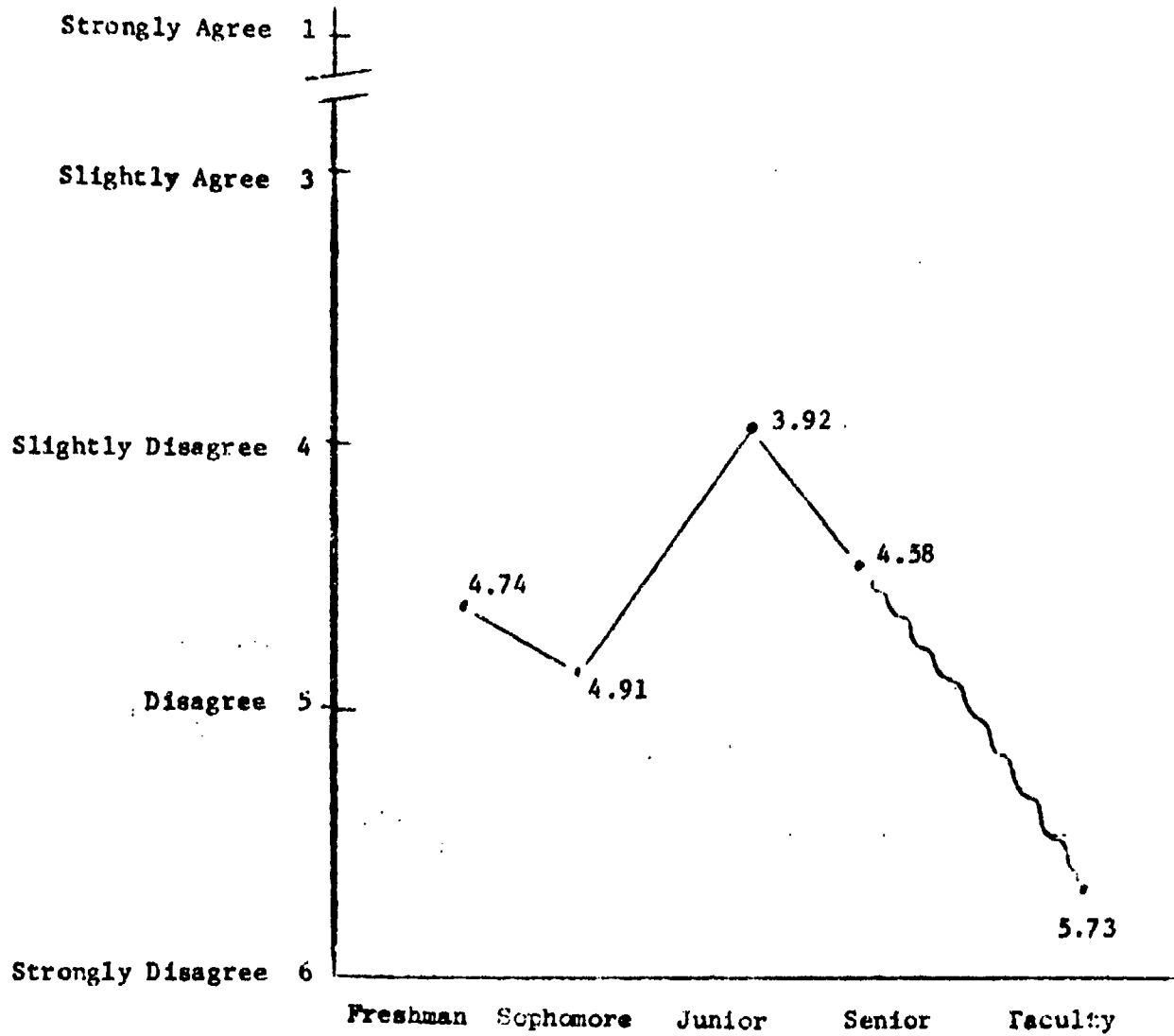
I am really pretty apathetic about my life at Gaight.



% Agree or Strongly Agree	8.8	8.5	20.5	14.0	0.0
% Disagree or Strongly Disagree	63.6	76.6	46.1	69.8	90.9

D-5

I am really pretty apathetic about my life at Gaight.



% Agree or Strongly Agree	8.8	8.5	20.5	14.0	0.0
% Disagree or Strongly Disagree	63.6	76.6	46.1	69.8	90.9

GAIGHT FEEDBACK

All Responses: Amount of Sarcasm and Increase of Sarcasm

The amount of sarcasm in the Gaight community is:

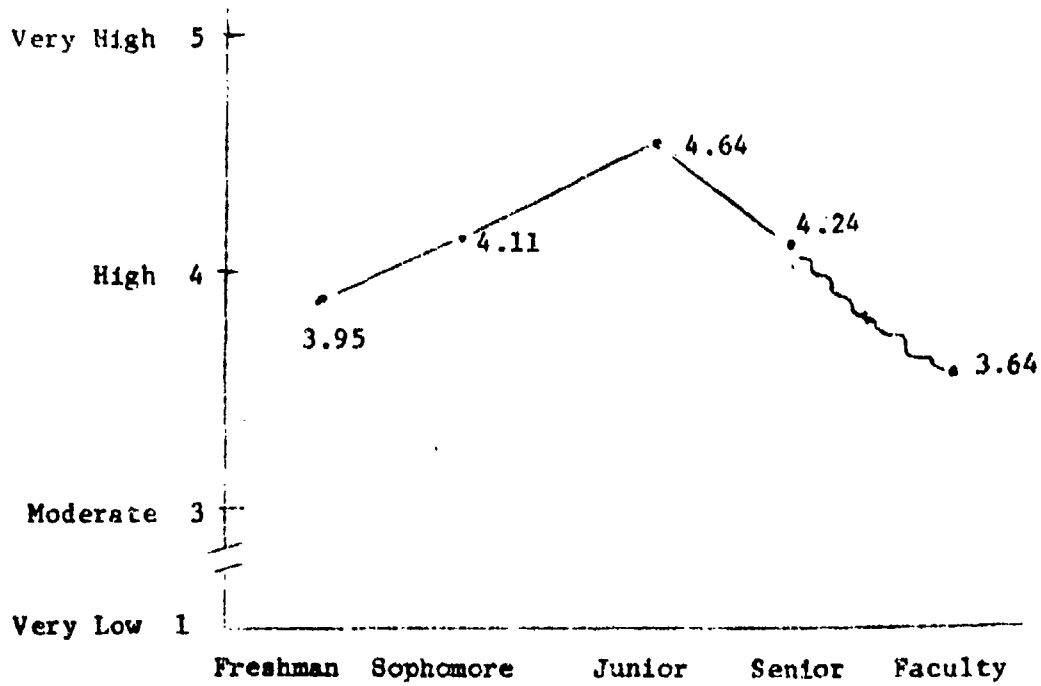
	1 (Very Low)	2 (Low)	3 (Moderate)	4 (High)	5 (Very High)	Total
No. of Responses	5	8	56	140	162	371
% of Responses	1	2	15	38	44	100
Average	4.20					

In comparison to previous years, the amount of sarcasm in the Gaight community is:

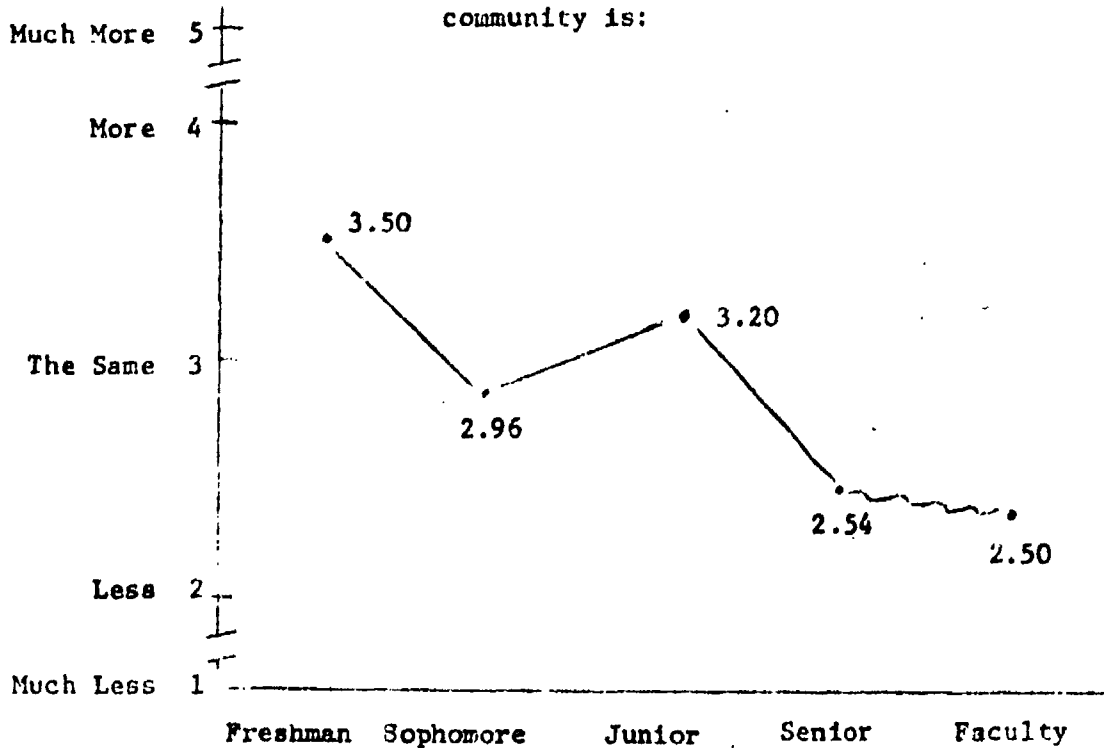
	1 (Much Less)	2 (Less)	3 (The Same)	4 (More)	5 (Much More)	Total
No. of Responses	13	99	114	60	22	308
% of Responses	4	32	37	19	7	99
Average	2.93					

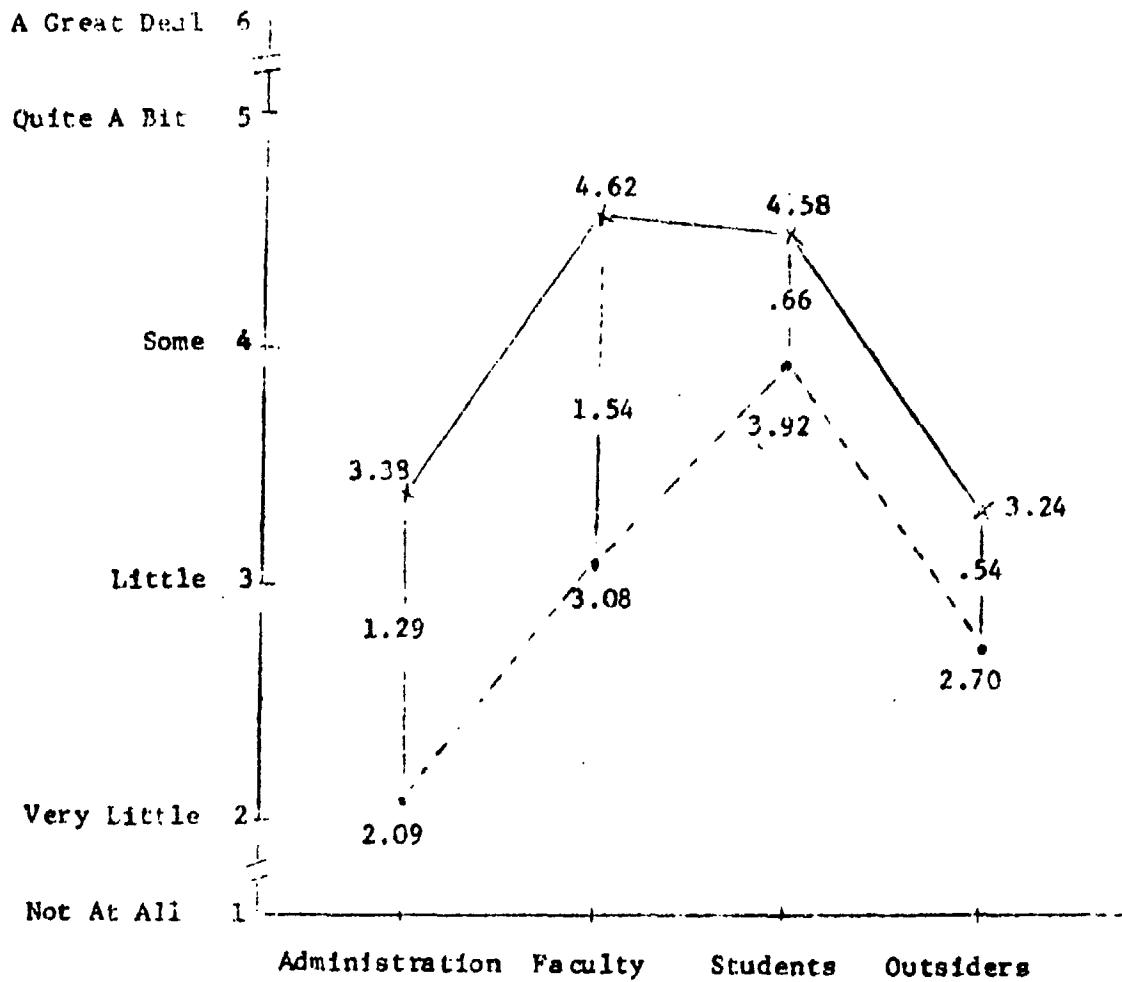
D-7

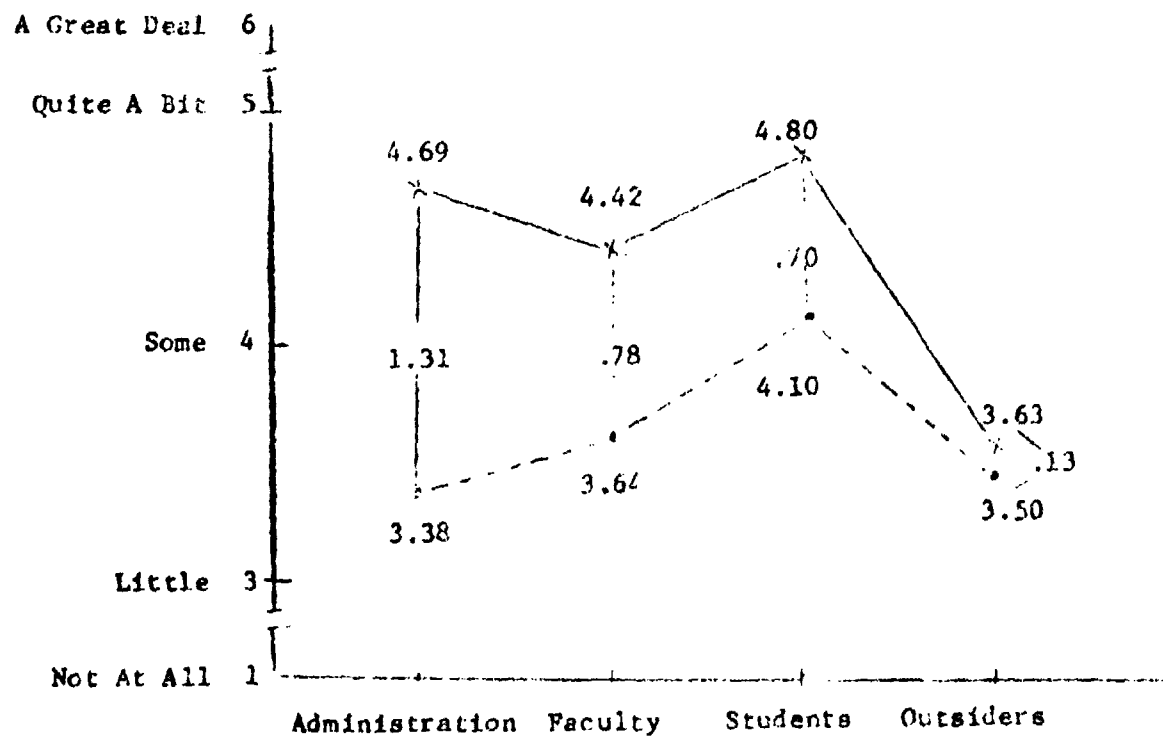
The amount of sarcasm at Gaight



In comparison to previous years,
the amount of sarcasm in the Gaight
community is:



Influence For Students

Influence For FacultyX — — — X Influence On Me• — — — • Influence By Me

Appendix E. Faculty Assessment Documents

(Fall 1971-Spring 1972; Chapter Twelve)

YALE UNIVERSITY, New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Department of Administrative Sciences
2 Hillhouse Avenue

November 10, 1971

MEMORANDUM

To: Faculty Assessment Committee, Gaight School
From: Clayton P. Alderfer
Subject: 1970-71 Questionnaire Results

Several times during the 1970-1971 school year, we administered a short questionnaire to members of the Gaight community to measure their satisfaction with life at the school, their involvement with the school, and their sense of learning and growth from academic work. The questionnaire was administered two ways: by the English classes and through the mailboxes. As it turned out, only the information collected through the English classes provided enough responses to be usable. Faculty response was also too low (30-40%) to be meaningful regardless of which way the instrument was distributed.

Given these qualifications, we are in a position to report on the results of student attitudes as measured in November 1970 and March 1971. These findings were very similar to those described in our report, "The Human System of the Gaight School": satisfaction with life at the school, involvement in the school, and the sense of growth from academic activities decreased from November to March. As a general rule, students in March felt less satisfied, less involved, and less growth than they did in November. While these effects could be observed for each class (i.e., freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior) they were most pronounced for the freshmen and least noticeable for juniors.

One major implication of these findings is that the results we observed during the initial year of study were not unique to that particular year. At a minimum, they apply to two school years. Perhaps we have identified a more general characteristic of school life.

Report to the Assessment Committee at the Gaight School
by
Clayton P. Alderfer

Much of the history of the Yale-Gaight collaboration is contained in the various documents produced by Dave Brown and myself in the course of our work with the school. I shall not attempt to reproduce the contents of those papers but instead ask the assessment committee to review them in preparing their report. Three documents are particularly important:

1. The Human System of the Gaight School is our diagnostic report prepared at the end of the 1969-1970 school year. The recommendations contained at the end offer some bench marks against which to measure the results of our actions.
2. Research Action: Organizational Feedback, Understanding, and Change is Dave Brown's article describing the feedback of the diagnostic material to students and faculty during the spring of 1970. This paper is an abbreviated version of Dave's thesis, a copy of which has been given to the school. The importance of this paper stands on two grounds: it provides the logic and rationale for our method and approach for working with Gaight and presents an evaluation of one complex intervention into the school.
3. Dilemmas of the Most Successful, perhaps the most familiar document, is my analysis of the prefects' role. It was given to prefects and corridor masters as preparatory reading for this fall's workshop.

Our diagnostic report contained a number of recommendations (pp. 32-38) to be implemented during the 1970-1971 school year. My own (abbreviated) perception of what happened to each of them is as follows:

1. A and B did take on the additional roles of internal change agents for the school. Each man attended summer training sessions to prepare

for his new work, and I consulted with them each month when I visited the school to engage in administrative consultation. They worked independently with the sophomore and junior class committees and designed a special program to aid the supportive entry of freshmen into the school. They worked with me in the administrative consultation and together we had two brief encounters with the 1970-71 prefects. As far as we can tell no harm came from any of these activities and in several cases positive benefit emerged from the activities, as reported by the participants. System evaluation such as reported for the feedback process was not attempted.

2. Several short meetings with the 1970-1971 prefects were carried out in the fall, but eventually they made it clear that they did not wish further help, so we stopped taking initiatives toward them. In the spring Nike Storms and I conducted interviews with them just as they completed their time at Gaigh. This material provided a strong basis for this year's workshop. The fact that there was relatively little work done with the 1970-1971 prefects reflects two primary forces at work. First, they actively chose not to participate. Throughout the project we tried to be sure that no one was coerced into participation at any time. Second, we might have done more to demonstrate to the group how work with us might have helped them. For the 1971-1972 group, the proposal for work with them was made in the preceding spring rather than the fall, and the working paper on the prefects' role was prepared in advance to identify some of the issues where work could be done.

3. Throughout the 1970-1971 school year I spent one Friday afternoon per month consulting about decision-making at Gaigh. Sometimes this work was with the headmaster alone; other times a larger number of people were included. The process of this consultation was largely non-

directive. I neither proposed the problems to be discussed, nor offered solutions.

I did attempt to increase the number of options that were considered and tried to identify factors (often emotional) that the decision makers might have been overlooking. Our working arrangement left the decision about who to include in the sessions to the headmaster although we sometimes jointly discussed the possibilities. I emphasized the voluntary character of the undertaking and do believe that some people chose not to participate when asked. My overall impression is that these sessions were helpful to the participants, although I am sure that some people and some problems benefited more than others.

During and after the June 7 session on coeducation we learned that some faculty had serious doubts about the value of the Yale and Gaight cooperation. There was probably something about the coed day that evoked these reactions, although I don't believe that the basic concerns were with coeducation or what happened during that day. But the day itself reminded everyone once again of the project; it asked the faculty to spend an extra day at school; and it dealt with issues about which most people have strong and mixed reactions. Except for those who had participated in the decision-making consultation most faculty had had little contact with the project during the school year and may have felt decidedly uninformed about what had been happening. There were bimonthly requests for students and faculty to complete questionnaires, and some people (students included) may have come to the conclusion that the Yale group continued to ask for things from Gaight without giving anything in return.

Retrospectively I can see how some of these perceptions developed and some of the things that might have been done to counteract them. There has not been enough sharing between those deeply involved in the project and

those who are not as close to it. Part of the responsibility for this lies with me, A, B, and C. We could have done more to keep other members of the community informed. But some of the responsibility also belongs to those community members who had real concerns and did not bring them to our attention in clear and direct ways. One of the reasons why I favored the formation of the assessment committee is because it would provide a vehicle whereby more faculty members would be able to give thoughtful and thorough attention to what has been happening in connection with the project.

The place of research in the project has also been a point of controversy for some time. Again I perceive much of the problem here to be in understanding (and misunderstanding) the nature of the working agreement between the Yale and Gaight groups. In exchange for small consulting fees and research data the Yale team was to provide analysis and consultation. I believe we (internal and external consultants, plus headmaster) erred in not dealing with the feelings about the questionnaires more directly. Both faculty and students seemed to see the request for 10 minutes of time every two months to fill out the questionnaires as a serious imposition, and I can see why if they could see no way that they or Gaight might benefit from their actions. But, as the reports show, the data from those questionnaires provided a very important source for understanding the school and, in one case, for evaluating the impact of a major intervention. Consequently, I conclude that the research has been important in the past and will continue to be important in the future if the project continues.

If we do continue, therefore, I would ask for a number of new elements:

1. That the assessment committee continue to exist and serve as a reporting group for those people from Gaight and Yale most heavily involved in the project. The committee would provide feedback to project members from the school and be the communication link from the project to the school during those times when events were happening in ways that involved only a small subset of the school.
2. That there be a discussion about how research data by questionnaire could continue to be collected in ways that give valid and complete information while being minimally disruptive to individual and school activities.

To: All faculty members and student leaders

From: The Yale Assessment Committee

Subject: Gaight's involvement with the Department of Administrative Sciences,
Yale University

The purpose of this memo is to inform you that the Yale Assessment Committee has recommended to the Headmaster and the Headmaster has decided that Gaight will continue to utilize and work with the Department of Administrative Sciences, Yale University. Yale will continue its study of Gaight as a human institution and will also provide consultative services in return for low fees and research data. Enclosed you will find a brief "history" of our relationship with Yale and a questionnaire designed to solicit your reaction to various investigative and consultative techniques that have been used or might be used by the Yale team. The committee hopes that you will read the history, answer the questionnaire and return it to me as soon as is convenient.

Chairman, Yale Assessment Committee

Members of the Committee

A, Chairman

B

C

D

E

F

WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT

A Brief History of the Yale Study

Forward

The Yale Assessment Committee was formed this fall of faculty volunteers, namely, A, B, C, D, E, and F, and had as its primary task the assessment of Gaight involvement with the Yale Department of Administrative Sciences over the last two years. We were to determine whether continued cooperation with Professor Alderfer and Dave Brown was desirable or even feasible. To accomplish our task, we interviewed Professor Alderfer, internal consultants, and headmaster. From the information and impressions gathered we made our recommendation to continue the relationship, but we felt strongly that the information and impressions acquired from our investigation should be shared with faculty members and student leaders because the success of at least part of our involvement with Yale rests upon the cooperation of all students and faculty. In addition several faculty members and student leaders are largely unfamiliar with the "Yale Study", as it is popularly known, and these people especially should be informed. It is the committee's hope that the following brief history will tell you "What it's all about".

The origin of our involvement with Yale can be traced back to the tense Winter Term of 1969. To deal with the pressures and tensions of the school which the Headmaster felt were tearing at us, an experiment in student-faculty and student-student communication was tried in the form of "CaG Day" (Change at Gaight). Various discussion groups and talks were moderately successful in releasing tensions and providing a new direction to student activities. Then that Spring, as a part of the Seniors Spring Term activities, it was suggested that "T" group sessions (similar to Encounter or Sensitivity groups) for seniors and faculty might be worthwhile. Through G, who knew of people at Yale involved with T group training, Professor Alderfer was contacted. Professor Alderfer along with one of his graduate students, Dave Brown, organized a team of group leaders and brought them on campus for three days of T group sessions involving most seniors and some faculty.

Most of the seniors who participated were highly enthusiastic about the T group sessions. Noting this enthusiasm, the Committee on Educational Policy asked Brown and Alderfer if some more permanent relation could be established, particularly for establishing T groups as a part of Gaight life. Brown and Alderfer were hesitant, however, to continue "T-grouping" for two reasons: first, they had detected some resistance to T groups from some faculty and students, and second, partly because of this resistance, they felt that they should know more about Gaight as an institution. They therefore proposed an institutional study, a proposal which was accepted by the C.E.P.

During the summer of 1969 faculty were given a questionnaire to complete and that fall, as part of the opening fall meetings of the faculty, Alderfer and Brown organized discussions among the faculty on the problems of teaching and living at Gaight. A Liaison Committee of faculty and student volunteers was established under the chairmanship of A and included B, the new chaplain. This committee was designed to establish a communication link between Yale and Gaight and was used at first as a testing ground for possible questionnaire questions. It was also this committee which received the first feedback from Yale.

During the Fall Term, Alderfer and Brown began to question all faculty and students both through questionnaires and through group and individual interviews. The first feedback results came in the Winter Term, 1970, first to the Liaison Committee, then to the Committee on Educational Policy and finally to the faculty and students themselves. Feedback to the students took the form of a series of meetings with corridor and class groups in which the students commented on and discussed the first results of the research. These feedback sessions became the basis for Dave Brown's doctoral thesis and for his rather technical article called "Research Action: Organizational Feedback, Understanding, and Change" which, according to Alderfer, "provides the logic and rationale for our method and approach for working with Gaight and presents an evaluation of one complex intervention into the school". In general it is Brown's contention that the feedback sessions confronted students with data which led to an understanding of their lives and an inducement to change. The Headmaster also feels that the feedback sessions were more important than the final report itself because it was the process of confronting the results rather than the results themselves which produced change.

The final report entitled The Human System of the Gaight School was ready in June, 1970, and copies were sent to all faculty prior to the opening Fall meetings. Many faculty members were disappointed for various reasons, but a common complaint was that the report "told us little that we already didn't know". In general the report, known around the school as the "Yale Study", concluded that the "closed system" of the Gaight School built up tremendous internal pressures that could not be relieved by frequently getting away from Gaight (thus like a hospital or prison, a boarding school has some of the characteristics of a "closed system"). Such unrelieved tensions resulted in short run misbehavior and verbal violence (particularly sarcasm) and a declining satisfaction with life at Gaight over the long run. Satisfaction was highest among freshmen and lowest among juniors with the seniors recovering slightly as graduation neared.

To meet this situation the report made three recommendations:

1. Gaight should "develop a team of internal consultants who will be trained as development and renewal agents [whose] former positions at the school be redesigned so that they might have at least half time for this new assignment."
2. "That a workshop for prefects be established in the fall and that a process of continued examination and study of the prefects' role with the aid of consultants be carried on throughout the year."
3. "That a process of consultation on decision-making at Gaight be instituted with the aid of outside (and eventually inside) consultants."

Each of these recommendations were acted upon during last year. To fulfill the first recommendation, A and B left during the Summer of 1970 to take sensitivity and consultative training at the National Training Laboratories in New Hampshire. Beginning that Fall, both men worked extensively with the prefects, class committees and with the entire sophomore class. They consulted frequently with Professor Alderfer in the early going, but soon found that they could effectively handle most situations themselves. However, both feel that the presence of outside consultants is helpful, and that their work thus far has been successful.

The second recommendation on the establishment of a workshop for prefects was a failure last year. After a few early sessions with the 1970-71 prefects, it became clear to the consultants "that they did not wish further

help, so we stopped taking initiatives toward them". The 1970-71 prefects were interviewed at the end of the year, however, and that material provided a basis for this year's workshop. Work with this year's prefects began last Spring and has been more successful. During the Summer 1971 Professor Alderfer wrote his analysis of the prefects and their problems called Dilemmas of the Most Successful and this was distributed to prefects and corridor masters. Most felt, including the Assessment Committee, that this study was very interesting and quite helpful.

The third recommendation of the Yale Study on setting up a process on consultation on decision making resulted in a series of sessions between Professor Alderfer and the Headmaster and between the Headmaster and other members of the administrative and faculty hierarchy. Each month for two or three hours Professor Alderfer consulted with the Headmaster or was present during discussions between the Headmaster and other key members of the administration. According to Alderfer:

The process of this consultation was largely non-directive. I neither proposed the problems to be discussed, nor offered solutions. I did attempt to increase the options that were considered and tried to identify factors (often emotional) that the decision makers might have been overlooking. Our working arrangement left the decision about who to include in the sessions to the Headmaster, although we sometimes jointly discussed the possibilities. I emphasized the voluntary character of the undertaking and do believe that some people chose not to participate when asked. My overall impression is that these sessions were helpful to the participants, although I am sure that some people and some problems benefitted more than others.

The Headmaster is particularly enthusiastic about these sessions. He feels that the airing of tensions and conflicts in the presence of a third party made his job easier in that the energy used to suppress irritations and conflict was now released for other purposes. He firmly believes that he could not have led in the initiation of co-education and term-contained courses at Gaith without these sessions and the help of Professor Alderfer.

Beyond the activities fulfilling the recommendations of the Yale Study report, there continued to be questionnaire surveys taken on a bi-monthly basis, but it became obvious to Professor Alderfer that resistance to and irritation over the questionnaires was building. Those questionnaires supervised by the English Department were successful, but those put out through the mailboxes were not. Returns were too small in number to be meaningful. In addition the faculty response was too low (30-40%) to be significant.

The conclusions that could be drawn from last year's questionnaires confirmed the conclusions of the previous year:

As a general rule, students in March felt less satisfied, less involved, and less growth than they did in November. While the effects could be observed for each class, . . . they were most pronounced for Freshmen and least noticeable for Juniors.

One major implication of these findings is that the results we observed during the initial year of study were not unique to that particular year. At a minimum, they apply to two school years. Perhaps we have identified a more general characteristic of school life.

The Yale team visited Gaight once more last June to set up a co-educational workshop which was only moderately successful and at that session and before Professor Alderfer and Dave Brown felt that to continue the Gaight-Yale relationship would not be desirable unless there was a greater acceptance of that relationship by students and faculty. "Except for those who had participated in the decision-making consultations," wrote Alderfer --

most faculty had had little contact with the project during the school year and may have felt decidedly uninformed about what had been happening. . . . There has not been enough sharing between those deeply involved in the project and those who are not close to it. Part of the responsibility for this lies with me, A, B, and C. We could have done more to keep other members of the community informed. But some of the responsibility also belongs to those community members who had real concerns and did not bring them to our attention in clear and direct ways.

As a consequence of this diagnosis, Professor Alderfer favored the formation of the Assessment Committee "because it would provide a vehicle whereby more faculty members would be able to give thoughtful and thorough attention to what has been happening in connection with the project".

We of the Committee are therefore attempting to become a vehicle of communication between Yale and Gaight. We hope to keep faculty and students informed as well as involving them as much as possible with the Yale Study. It should be pointed out that the agreement with Yale involves the provision by Yale of analysis and consultation in exchange for low fees and research data. The research data collected has both a value for the school and a professional value for Professor Alderfer and Dave Brown. Dave Brown used the data he gathered as a basis for his doctoral dissertation while Clay Alderfer is using all data for use in a book on the boarding school as an institution. (Both Brown and Alderfer have been meticulously scrupulous in not identifying Gaight in any of their completed or projected writings.)

Thus our relationship with Yale has two aspects: the collection of research data and the provision of consultation. The collection of research data obviously necessitates the willing cooperation of most students and faculty, while the provision of consultation, although to date confined to the Headmaster and upper echelons of the faculty and administration can be, according to Alderfer, used to aid various groups and activities to achieve greater effectiveness. He lists the faculty and its sub group departments, classroom teaching, corridor life and others as possible areas where his skills and the resources of Yale could be brought to bear.

This is the story of the Yale Study and Gaight's involvement thus far. We will continue that relationship on the basis of the Headmaster's decision and the Committee's recommendation, but the form of the relationship can be varied; information can be gathered in several ways, and the skills of Yale can be used in various areas. The questions on the following page are designed to solicit your feelings and ideas on future cooperation with and use of Professor Alderfer, Dave Brown and Yale. We hope that they will be numerous. Please return the questions to me at your earliest convenience.

Chairman

YALE STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE
(Return to Mr. A)

1. Are you willing to fill out questionnaires similar to those already given?
Yes No
2. Are you satisfied with the form and types of questions on past questionnaires? Yes No
3. If No, what changes would you like to see on the questionnaires?

4. What other areas of Gaight School life, if any, would you like to see covered by questions on the questionnaires?

5. On personal interviews, should they be used (check one)
 - a. instead of questionnaires
 - b. in addition to questionnaires
 - c. infrequently
 - d. not at all
 - e. I have no opinion

6. Are you willing to be interviewed
 - a. personally Yes No
 - b. as a part of a group Yes No

7. What other areas of school life do you think would benefit from a study like the one that was recently made on the prefects?

8. Are there any areas of school life which you think might benefit from the consultative skills of the Yale people?

9. Would you object to the use of outside consultants for a group of which you are a member? Yes No

Comment _____

Please make any additional comments you wish on the back.

Thank you,

The Yale Assessment Committee

MEMO

To: All Faculty and Students Leaders
From: Chairman, Yale Study Liaison Committee
Subject: Questionnaire results and future role of the Yale Study Liaison Committee

Early last term the Yale Study Liaison Committee distributed questionnaires to all faculty and student leaders. The purpose of these questionnaires was to elicit your reactions and opinions on investigative procedures that had been used or might be used by Professor Alderfer and Yale in their continuing study of Gaight school life. Thirty-three (33) or approximately one-third of the faculty and student leaders asked to complete the questionnaires responded. Answers to the "closed questions" (requiring a Yes-No or definite answer) are appended to this memo. As the results indicate, most of those who responded were willing to participate in answering questions, whether on a questionnaire or in an interview. Most would also not object to consultants working with any group they were a member of. But there was strong objection to the form and types of questions used on previous questionnaires.

On the "open ended questions" dealing with utilization of the skills of Professor Alderfer and Yale in other areas of the school that have already been studied, many responses were vigorous and often reflected the personal interests of the respondent. Some didn't want the Yale people around here at all; a few felt that the whole project was a waste of time and money, and some had a list of projects an arm long for the Yale people to tackle. But after sifting through the responses, there appeared to be two primary areas of concern. There was first a concern for the whole area of co-education at Gaight, and second, there was great concern over corridor life and the role of the corridor master.

On March 10, members of the Liaison Committee met with Professor Alderfer and A. The focus of the discussion was on the results of the questionnaire and on the role of the Yale Study and of the Liaison Committee. The meeting resulted in the following conclusions and recommendations:

1. Gaight would continue to work with Professor Alderfer and Yale at least through next year.
2. However, the long range goal is for Gaight to become self-sufficient in diagnosing its own ills and prescribing its own remedies. Professor Alderfer would continue to decrease his involvement to that of a remote consultant.
3. To fulfill this long range goal, the Liaison Committee with Mr. B would become more involved in designing questionnaires and other investigative procedures to be used in gathering information vital to prescribing remedies for Taft's problems and to enhance the quality of Gaight life. The Committee would also continue to be a liaison between Yale and Gaight as well as keeping the Gaight community informed of its own work.

4. New volunteers, both student and faculty, would be sought for the Committee. All members would receive basic training in questionnaire design and interviewing techniques. Some might be given extensive training at national summer workshops in consultative skills.
5. Professor Alderfer and Dave Brown would continue their research on the Gaight community, but noting the strong reaction against previous questionnaires, Professor Alderfer is at this time uncertain as to whether to continue with the questionnaires or use an alternative method.

This, in summary, is where we are at the moment. Of immediate priority is the need for new committee members, both student and faculty. As outlined above, the Committee will do more than just transfer information; it will become heavily involved in diagnostic procedures. Any student leaders or faculty who would like to become involved in such work, please let me know soon.

Chairman, Yale Study Liaison Committee

YALE STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

(Return to A)

1. Are you willing to fill out questionnaires similar to those already given?
Yes - 26 No - 8
2. Are you satisfied with the form and types of questions on past questionnaires? Yes - 10 No - 18 No Answer - 6
3. If No, what changes would you like to see on the questionnaires?

4. What other areas of Gaight School life, if any, would you like to see covered by questions on the questionnaires?

5. On personal interviews, should they be used (check one)
 - a. instead of questionnaires - 4
 - b. in addition to questionnaires - 22
 - c. infrequently - 5
 - d. not at all - 2 3 double answers of b and c
 - e. I have no opinion - 3 1 no answer

6. Are you willing to be interviewed
 - a. personally Yes - 30 No - 4
 - b. as a part of a group Yes - 26 No - 5

7. What other areas of school life do you think would benefit from a study like the one that was recently made on the prefects?

8. Are there any areas of school life which you think might benefit from the consultative skills of the Yale people?

9. Would you object to the use of outside consultants for a group of which you are a member? Yes - 6 No - 27

Comment

Please make any additional comments you wish on the back.

Thank you,

The Yale Assessment Committee

Appendix F. Evaluation Questionnaire
(Fall--November--1969; Chapter Thirteen)

As many of you know there has been a cooperative research and change project between the Gaight School and the Department of Administrative Sciences going on for nearly 2-1/2 years. Faculty and students from Yale have worked with students, faculty, and administrators from Gaight to help them think through and design new ways to improve the quality of life at Gaight. At the same time members of the Gaight community have filled out questionnaires and participated in interviews to aid our growing understanding of the school.

Each time a person joins in this process he (or she) does so voluntarily and with the understanding that the information we collect is confidential. No one at Gaight would ever be permitted to see another individual's questionnaire responses. At the same time, however, we do provide periodic feedback to the community about what we are learning. This material has also been very influential in suggesting areas and methods of change.

With the following questionnaire we once again ask for your cooperation. Please answer the questions as honestly as you can. Should you prefer not to answer any question, just place an "X" in front of the number.

We thank you in advance for your help.

Clayton P. Alderfer

Date: _____ Name: _____
(include only if you wish)

Are you (check one): Administrator _____ Faculty _____ Student _____
Class (if student) _____
Years at Gaight _____

Are you (check one): Male _____ Female _____

Do you live? (check one) At Gaight _____ Off campus _____

Are you a member of
your class committee? Yes _____ No _____

A. Significant Events

Below we list a number of incidents which people have described during our interviews with individuals and groups at Gaight. We would like to ask you two things about each incident:

a. Have you ever observed or had someone tell you about something like this?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| 1 Never or almost never | 3 Sometimes |
| 2 Rarely | 4 Often |
| 5 Very often | |

b. How do you personally react to something like this?

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| -2 Very negatively | 0 Neutrally |
| -1 Negatively | +1 Positively |
| +2 Very positively | |

1. A freshman is thrown into the pond by several upper classmen.

_____ a

_____ b

2. In a class a student asks the teacher a question, to which the teacher responds by asking the student why he asked. Before the student can answer the teacher, another student says, "Because he was stupid!" The class laughs.

_____ a

_____ b

Significant Events - continued

a. Have you ever observed or had someone tell you about something like this?

1 Never or almost never

3 Sometimes

2 Rarely

4 Often

5 Very often

b. How do you personally react to something like this?

-2 Very negatively

0 Neutrally

-1 Negatively

+1 Positively

+2 Very positively

3. An election for some student office is rigged by the faculty.

_____a

_____b

4. A freshman spends an entire day in his room with the door locked in order to avoid being harassed by upper classmen.

_____a

_____b

5. An upper classman seeks out and offers help to a lower middler.

_____a

_____b

6. A faculty member uses physical force to discipline a student.

_____a

_____b

7. At a talk in Vespers a faculty member says something which you know (or later learn) to be less than the full truth.

_____a

_____b

Significant Events - continued

a. Have you ever observed or had someone tell you about something like this?

1 Never or almost never

3 Sometimes

2 Rarely

4 Often

5 Very often

b. How do you personally react to something like this?

-2 Very negatively

0 Neutrally

-1 Negatively

+1 Positively

+2 Very positively

8. A student leader (such as a prefect or team captain) shows partiality in carrying out his duties or in some other way violates the spirit of the job he holds.

_____a

_____b

9. A student who is known to be isolated or lacking in connections with other people at Gaith is invited or in some other way helped to find people with whom he can relate.

_____a

_____b

10. A student who is having trouble with his school work is helped by another student (without the helper doing the learner's work for him).

_____a

_____b

11. A student who has excelled in some activity (academic, athletic, or extracurricular) is congratulated by his peers in his presence.

_____a

_____b

12. A student who is known to have broken a major rule is reported by a prefect.

_____a

_____b

B. Please answer the following by writing the number that best expresses the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement.

1 means strongly agree

4 means slightly disagree

2 means agree

5 means disagree

3 means slightly agree

6 means strongly disagree

- _____ 1. I am highly satisfied with my life at Gaight.
- _____ 2. I am really pretty apathetic about my life at Gaight.
- _____ 3. I feel under pressure much of the time at Gaight.
- _____ 4. I have an opportunity to use many of my abilities in my academic activities at Gaight.
- _____ 5. I have enough privacy at Gaight.
- _____ 6. I am very much dissatisfied with my experience at Gaight.
- _____ 7. I feel respected as an individual within the Gaight community.
- _____ 8. I have often thought about leaving Gaight permanently.
- _____ 9. I am personally very much involved in the Gaight community.
- _____ 10. I do not have enough time for myself at Gaight.
- _____ 11. I seldom get the feeling of learning new things from my academic life.
- _____ 12. I often feel bored at Gaight.
- _____ 13. How many people at Gaight do you feel you can really trust?
(Answer with a specific number.)
- _____ 14. I feel alienated from the Gaight community.

C. For each of the following questions write the number which best expresses your opinion

1 means very little

4 means quite a lot

2 means some

5 means a great deal

3 means a moderate amount

How much influence do you have with the following groups?

_____ students

_____ faculty

_____ prefects

_____ your class committee

_____ administration

D. The subject of "cutting people down", or sarcasm, has been mentioned frequently during our work at Gaight. Would you give your perceptions on this subject by answering the following two questions?

1. The amount of sarcasm in the Gaight community is: _____ Very high

_____ High

(Check your answer)

_____ Moderate

_____ Low

_____ Very low

*2. In comparison to previous years, the amount of sarcasm in the Gaight community is:

_____ Much less

_____ Less

(Check your answer)

_____ The same

_____ More

_____ Much more

Please feel free to write any additional comments you wish.

* If this is your first year, answer this question based on what you expected to find.

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